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February 2, 1961 25¢

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THE REPORTER

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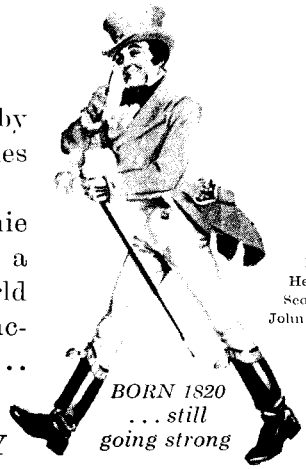

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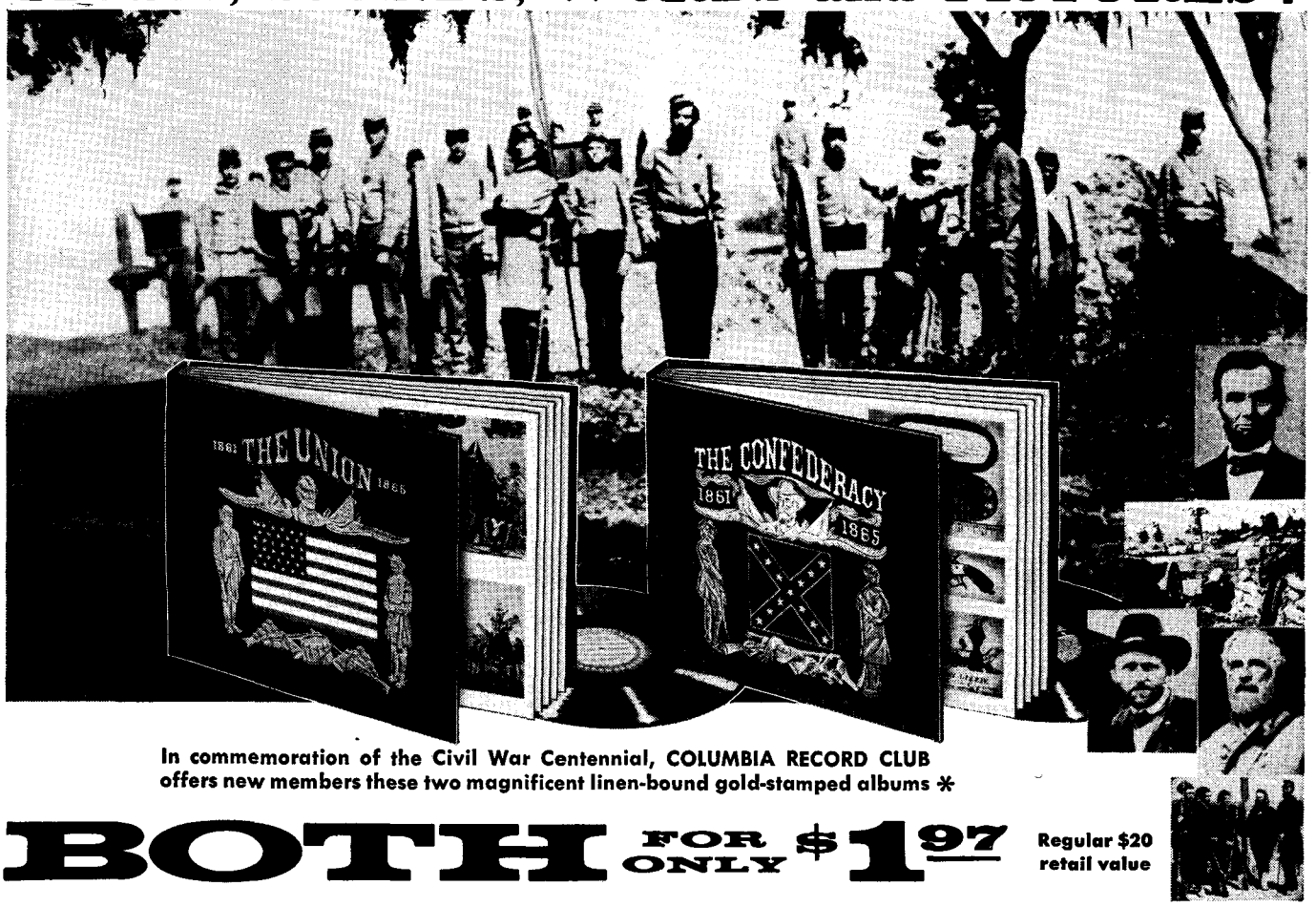

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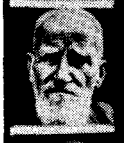

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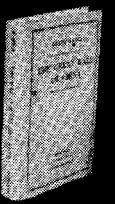

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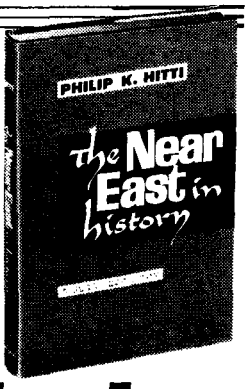

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THIS ISSUE goes to press on the day of the inauguration of President Kennedy. As the pages of *The Reporter's* "Notes" are the last written (they are Teletyped directly from New York to the presses at Dayton, Ohio), **Max Ascoli** had no other choice than to give his reactions to the President's inaugural address in the "Notes."

AMONG the major and only too numerous problems the Kennedy administration will face, none is more important than that of making a new political entity of the Atlantic alliance that must be efficiently strong and united to be capable of negotiating with the Soviet empire. As **Henry A. Kissinger** says, this greater unity among the nations of the alliance can be achieved only through some merging of sovereignty. We have never belonged to the category of world-government advocates or even, for that matter, to a considerably more sensible movement, Union Now; in a way we are states' righters, but at the same time we recognize, as Mr. Kissinger argues, that even the strongest of the national states—our own—cannot cope with the technological and political difficulties that affect the life of its citizens. Mr. Kissinger's article is adapted from a chapter in his recently published book *The Necessity for Choice* (Harper).

WHEN two huge airliners collided over New York City on December 16, not only was the death toll the highest in aviation history; this was also the first time a collision had occurred between two planes under air-traffic control. **Stuart H. Loory,** a science writer at the New York *Herald Tribune* who covered the hearings on the crash, discusses some of the facts brought out in those hearings. We shall have more to say about what must be done to meet the urgent need for safety on our air routes. . . . **Edward T. Chase,** a free-lance writer on public affairs, reports on the rather surprising band wagon that developed at the recent White House Conference on Aging, when the American Medical Association's objections to medical care through Social Security suffered a decisive defeat. . . . **Edmond Taylor,** our European correspondent, explores the meaning of the mandate President de Gaulle won in the referendum of January 8. . . . When people like James R. Hoffa enter the world of business, they do so with a toughness that makes the more conventional type of businessman look tame. **William L. Rivers** is a member of our Washington staff. . . . **Luis Alberto Bahia** is chief editor of *Correio de Manha* in Rio de Janeiro. He gives a Brazilian's view of the challenge facing the United States as the archaic power systems of Latin America give way before the movements for reform. . . . **Robert Counts,** a free-lance writer, reports from Mogadiscio on the Chinese Communists' moves to ingratiate themselves with the new nation of Somalia. . . . **Arnold Mayer,** as legislative representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America (AFL-CIO), has been working on farm-labor legislation for nearly six years. He reviews the fight, soon to be resumed, over the Mexican farm-labor importation law.

ALBERT SCHWEITZER is many things to many people. Saint or tyrant or both, there can be no doubt that he has given thousands of Africans relief from pain that they would not have found elsewhere. **Morton Puner,** director of the Praeger publishing house, writes about his visit to Dr. Schweitzer's "kingdom" last summer. . . . **Madeleine Chapsal,** a French writer, visited St.-John Perse just after he was awarded a Nobel Prize in November. . . . **Marya Mannes** reviews Broadway's current musicals. . . . **Nat Hentoff** discusses Alan Lomax's collections of folk music. . . . **William Letwin** teaches in the school of industrial management at M.I.T. . . . **F. W. Dupee,** editor of *The Selected Letters of Charles Dickens* (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy), teaches at Columbia.

Our aviation cover is by **William D. Gorman.**

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Seated, l. to r.: Bennett Cerf, Faith Baldwin, Bergen Evans, Bruce Catton, Mignon G. Eberhart, John Caples, J. D. Ratcliff
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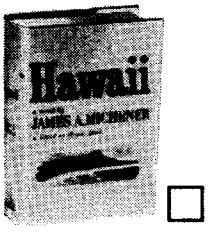

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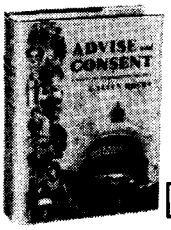

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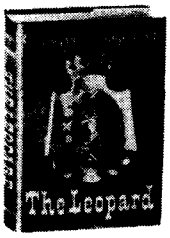

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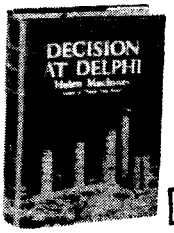

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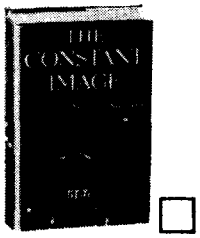

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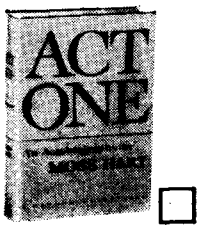

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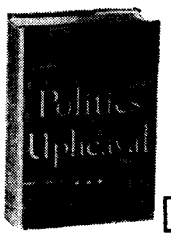

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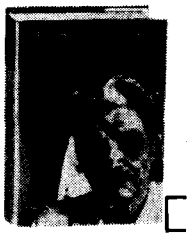

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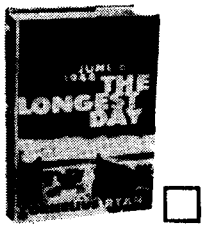

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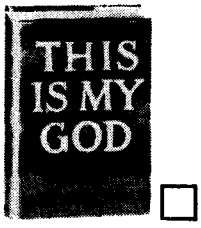

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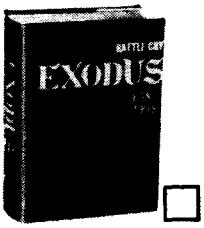

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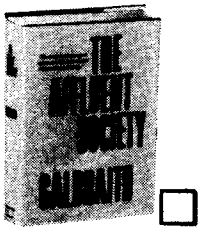

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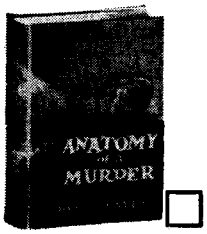

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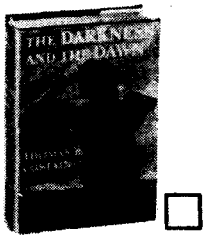

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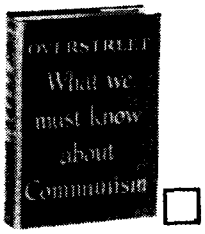

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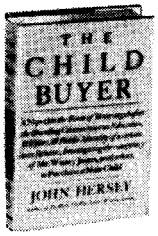

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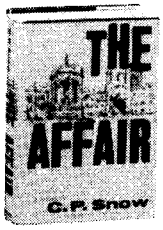

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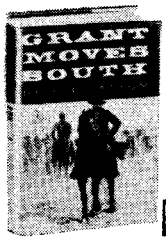

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CORRESPONDENCE

'EDITED AND TRANSLATED'

To the Editor: I have read with interest Francis Steegmuller's "Lost in Translation" in your issue of January 19. I have the highest regard for Mr. Steegmuller as a man of letters and as an absolutely first-rate translator, and I sympathize fully with what he writes in your pages. Since, in his concluding paragraph, he says, "In each of those three cases a publisher's disingenuousness has been exposed," and since one of the three cases involves the English translation of *Mozart and His Times* by Erich Schenk, which my firm published, I would like to describe for your readers exactly what happened in the case of this book. While I do not read German and therefore based our decision to publish it on the advice of others, I want to make it quite clear that I regard myself as responsible, willy-nilly, for anything that bears my name on the title page.

After two favorable opinions of the German original—neither of them by our then executive editor, Herbert Weinstock, who does not read German—we told the author through his New York agent that we would be prepared to publish the book if he, the author, would agree to reduce the original German text by eighty to a hundred thousand words. We explained that, in our opinion, for an English reading public his book was far too long, mainly because he had included in it a vast amount of information that bears only peripherally on Mozart's life and career.

The author replied to us through his Viennese publisher that he agreed to a reduction of the German text by two hundred and fifty to three hundred pages, that it would be best for the American translator to make the cuts, and that we should send him a contract.

When the manuscript of the translation reached us, it was dealt with by Mr. Weinstock, a critic in his own right and not without a reputation in the world of music. He had nothing but praise for the manuscript which, he wrote, "along with Emily Anderson's superb collection of the Mozart letters should become standard Mozartiana and remain so for decades."

Since Mr. Steegmuller in his article quotes Paul Henry Lang as saying in the New York *Herald Tribune* that our edition is a "travesty" of the excellent German original and that "the omissions largely concern very important new material and new interpretations," it should be clear that this is, until now at any rate, his unsupported opinion. Clearly, Mr. Weinstock does not agree with him. The latter did decide against reprinting Schenk's short and predominantly German bibliography. There is no other "documentary apparatus" in the German edition, despite Mr. Lang. Mr. Weinstock and Richard and Clara Winston, the translators, did add some footnotes to the English text and saw to it that our edition contained a complete index of works, which the German edition did not, as well as a chronology.

Nevertheless, although I think the charges brought against us in connection with this book are farfetched and unreasonable, I did, upon reading Mr. Lang's complaint, send the following memorandum to our editors:

"Schenk's 'Mozart and His Times' does not represent compliance with what I regard as the absolutely minimum requirements of honorable publishing of a translation which does not include the entire text of the original. The words on the title page 'Edited and translated from the German' are not sufficient. Nor, I note, do the words 'edited and' appear on the front of the jacket.

"I do not question that this book was intelligently edited, but how it could have been passed for publication without a note to the reader, signed either by the publisher or by the Winstons, stating precisely how it differed from the German original, I simply cannot understand.

"And I don't want this kind of thing ever to happen again."

While this is a long letter, it deals with a matter which I regard as of considerable interest and importance, and since it was raised in your pages by a distinguished man of letters, I hope you will find an opportunity to print it.

ALFRED A. KNOPF
New York

Mr. Steegmuller replies:

I can only applaud the sentiments so forcefully expressed in Mr. Knopf's memorandum to his editors, and hope that other publishers will follow his example.

IRON CHANCELLORS

To the Editor: I consider George Bailey's "A Talk with der Alte" (*The Reporter*, January 5) a very remarkable piece of journalism insofar as Mr. Bailey not only did listen carefully to his partner, but that he evidently combined his interview with a very careful and correct study of the basic facts of the Federal Republic's political, economical, and moral situation.

GEORG FEDERER
Der Deutsche Generalkonsul
New York

To the Editor: George Bailey's article on "der Alte" leads one to the conclusion that Adenauer is personally raising the German people to belief in and practice of democracy. No person can contest the greatness of Adenauer as a politician, but it is also worth considering his negative effects upon the development of democratic consciousness in West Germany. Bailey notes that the only thing old about Adenauer is his eyes, but he does not add that many West German voters see only an enigma in them, the mystery of a man whose political past belongs to the Weimar Republic and not to the postwar period. Germany needs a change in generations which will, I hope, bring the rulers and the ruled closer together.

Mr. Bailey quotes Adenauer as blaming Bismarck for the lack of "healthy inner political development in Germany." Campaign slogans based upon the idea that victory by the opposition would result in the downfall of the Federal Republic before Red tyranny have exactly the effect upon West Germany today that Adenauer himself sees in Bismarck's attacks on Roman Catholics and Socialists.

A. EDWARD ELMENDORF
New Haven, Connecticut

THE ILLIBERAL LIBERALS

To the Editor: I wish to take issue with Marya Mannes in her review of the play "Advise and Consent" ("Just Looking," *The Reporter*, December 22).

Her statement is this: "Demagogues are reactionary simply because they react, and putting a 'liberal' cap on a McCarthy again makes no sense in human terms. A man like that can be a Communist—which van Ackerman isn't—but by his very nature not a liberal." This is a foolish and nonrational statement. Many liberals react strongly to segregation, for example. Her implication that a "liberal" demagogue could not arise is ridiculous—demagogues can appear from any political segment. It is foolish for so many "liberals" to believe that "liberalism" may not produce its own fanatics and demagogues. This brings me to that disturbing phenomenon, the illiberal liberal. Many "liberals" of my acquaintance and observation are among the most intolerant, narrow-minded and bigoted people I have ever seen.

MARGARET P. DICKINSON
Menlo Park, California

THINK THIN

To the Editor: Apropos of Elaine Kendall's article "The Vanishing Americans" (*The Reporter*, January 5), we recently worked out the following formula: dissolve one multi-vitamin pill (cost 2 to 3 cents) in a quart of chocolate milk (about 25 cents). Add about 4 cents' worth of powdered milk. Total cost: about 31 cents.

This home brew, based on U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Handbook 8 and the label on any vitamin jar, will be ninety-five per cent identical with a typical measured-calorie liquid. The do-it-yourself mixture contains twice as much of vitamins A, B, and B12; twice as much iron, riboflavin, and thiamine.

Anyone on the store-bought diet who switched to ours would save about $25 in one month—though we cannot imagine anyone surviving in either case!

V. E. FRIEDMAN, President
V. E. Friedman Associates
New York City

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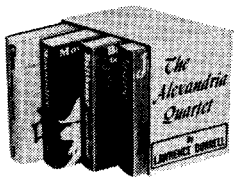

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The Inaugural Address

Of the forty-odd inaugural addresses that have been delivered, probably few if any can be considered enduring pieces of literature. In the second Lincoln inaugural, which is blissfully short, we are stirred to find those great words "with malice toward none, with charity for all." But there is also that religious, inspirational tone which characterizes all inaugural oratory. There are good reasons for this emphasis on religion: even the will of the people is not enough to justify the power that, for a period of time, one man is going to exert over them—and this inadequacy is particularly felt when the man who assumes that power is as great and as humble as Abraham Lincoln. But there is no question that the blend of godliness and politics is heavy going.

We could say more about a number of other inaugural addresses we have just read. The first by Franklin D. Roosevelt, for instance, with the famous phrase "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself," the tirade on the money-changers, and the inevitable invocation of the Deity at the end. But in that address is also to be found the principle that to overcome the depression, "the Federal, State and local governments" must "act forthwith on the demand that their cost be drastically reduced."

We hasten to add that we are not habitual readers of inaugurals. It's all due to the speech President Kennedy delivered on the chilly slopes of Capitol Hill immediately after he had taken the oath of office. We have great respect for President Kennedy and great expectations of what he will be able to do, considering his own qualities and the caliber of the men he has called to serve under him. The high esteem we have for our President has been in no way lowered by his inaugural speech. But if we said that we were impressed or stirred by it, we would be lying.

Maybe there is such a thing as an editor's occupational disease: a phrase like "those who foolishly sought power by riding on the back of the tiger ended up inside" gave us the blue-pencil itch. And what about "the beachhead of co-operation may push back the jungle of suspicion"? What the President said about the allies, the new nations, Latin America, and our Communist opponents was all good, and obviously came from his heart. But when he talked about the U.N. and our pledge "to strengthen its shield of the new and the weak—and to enlarge the area in which its writ may run," then we gasped. The writ of the U.N. is now more or less operating in the Congo. Do we want to enlarge that kind of joint operation? And how can we, together with the Communist empire, "bring the absolute power to destroy other nations under the absolute control of all nations"?

Obviously, sentences like "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate" bear the evidence of that lyric prose, of that spiritual hiccough, which for some years has characterized high-level political speechmaking—and not only in the Democratic Party. But President Kennedy, we have no doubt, will find his own style—a style attuned to that sense of the concrete and specific which is characteristic of his vigorous mind. He may even turn out to be a good orator—although so far he could scarcely be called one. Actually, we don't much care, for we have read somewhere that Washington was terrible at public speaking, and Lincoln's delivery was supposed to be atrocious.

Briefly, the best thing we can say about President Kennedy's inauguration is that it has taken place. He is our President—the President of all the people, and we have confidence in his capacity to act.

TO BE SUNG

(Verses in search of a composer)

Once more, America, once more,
To be as we have been before,
A beacon in a stormy night
To give a strong and steady light
So that all men from sea to sea
Can see the shape of liberty
Once more.

Once more, America, once more,
To feel as we have felt before,
That men of courage and control
Can liberate the human soul,
That rule of law and justice can
Restore the dignity of man
Once more.

Once more, America, once more,
To lead as we have led before
To give for all the world to see
The answer of democracy,
And to our faith remaining true
By doing what we say we do,
Once more.

—SEC

TALKING of Presidential speeches, we must say that we were greatly and happily stirred by Mr. Eisenhower's farewell address. Part of the happiness might have come from the awareness that his term of office was drawing to an end; nevertheless, it was a moving, memorable ending. This is not the time nor the occasion to pass judgment on a man who has been so reluctant to use both his power and his prestige during the last eight years. Again, what this reluctance has done to the nation we cannot yet measure. His farewell address bears the mark of a goodness, of a thoughtfulness that is obviously deep in the core of the man. It was good to see those qualities so much alive at the end of his term of office.

He is worried about "the acquisi-

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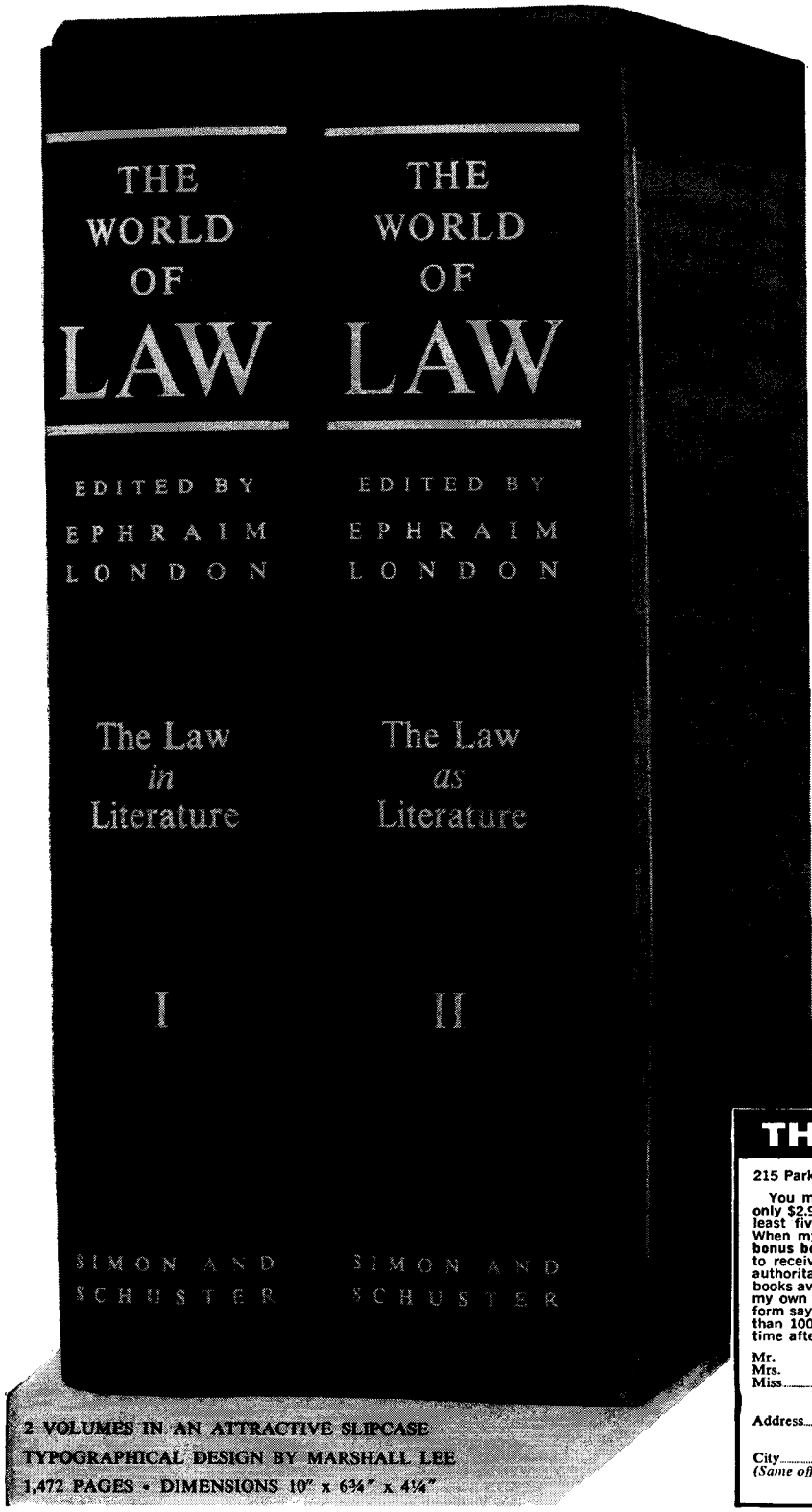

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tion of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex." He is aware of the danger "that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite." In a peculiar way, this man is a liberal, and as a true liberal he is alert to the danger that our freedoms may be curtailed by organizations established to defend them. It was, perhaps, a tragedy that a quality of shyness (or was it laziness?) prevented him from giving greater militancy to his beliefs. But why quarrel now? Just as we wish all possible success to that very active man, President Kennedy, we are glad to pay our respects to Dwight D. Eisenhower.

—MAX ASCOLI

Tumult and the Shouting

Inaugural festivities are always a mixture of solemn ceremony and silliness. This time was no different. It is silly in the first place for a nation, fixed by geography in a non-tropic zone, to stage its great pageant of renewal and rededication in the dead of winter. Some visitors came thousands of miles to Washington only to find themselves unable to move a few city blocks through the snow and slush. Unless we can imitate the British and set our coronation to suit the season, we might consider Governor Muñoz Marín's brave offer to stage the whole show down in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Inaugurals are also matters of mood, and this one had its low point as well as its high. There was a bit too much, we thought, of Frank Sinatra and his Hollywood "rat pack." Undoubtedly, they did good work for the Democratic coffers. But their extracurricular frolics were not quite in keeping with the spirit of sacrifice and sobriety that the new President wishes to establish. For them, as one caustic critic remarked, it was more a matter of "blood, sweat, and champagne."

Inaugurals are, finally, meeting grounds for rumor. Even before the swearing in, Washington was full of reports of incipient feuds and rivalries among the appointees. It is a condition endemic throughout politics, but the virus always seems to

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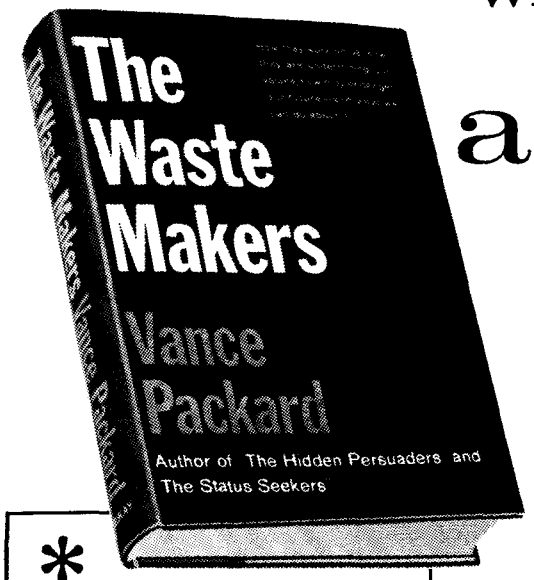

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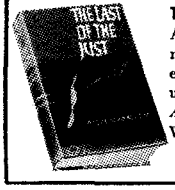

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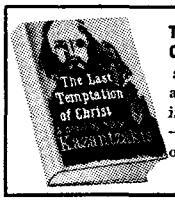

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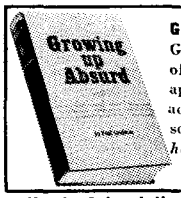

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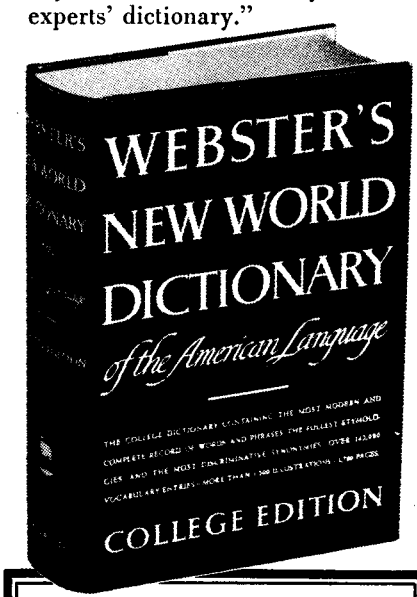

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flourish more vigorously among Democrats. It poses a severe test on the developing relationship between the President and his chief advisers, many of whom were complete strangers to him only a few weeks before. Particularly for the Secretary of State, who is supposed to be the President's principal foreign-policy adviser, the test is a grueling one. There are at least a half dozen State Departments around town all ready to go into operation.

So far this is mostly conjecture. The new President is moving with quiet dignity amid the hubbub. If he is awe-struck by the tremendous burden he has inherited, he has succeeded in concealing that fact even from his closest friends.

Newsworthy

Two Mississippians stood in front of a New York University classroom yesterday and defended segregation. They told thirty-five students that Negroes in Mississippi were perfectly happy without integration and then attempted to prove it with a short film entitled, "The Message from Mississippi." . . . The Mississippi spokesmen, Earle Johnston Jr., public relations director of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, and Chancery Judge Robert P. Sugg, had been invited to address the N.Y.U. class some weeks ago by Dr. Elsa Elizabeth Robinson, associate professor of psychology, who conducts a course in the psychology of group prejudice . . . The whole film emphasized that though Negroes and whites lived separately side by side they were "cooperating" and "making progress." "You don't build a civilization in one generation or two generations," Mr. Johnston said after the film ended. Though he conceded that there were only sixty Negro physicians and nine Negro lawyers practicing in Mississippi, he added, "Negroes prefer to go to white doctors. I don't know why. Maybe they, too, have a tradition." While Negroes do not have a medical school in Mississippi, Mr. Johnston said Negroes were free to accept out-of-state medical aid. "Any nigger that wants to can get this assistance," he said.—*Report in the New York Times.*

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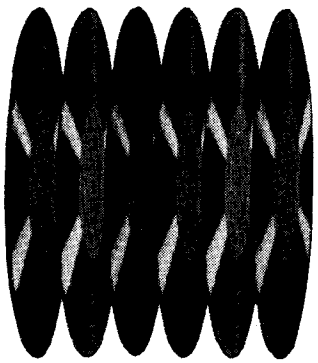

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5457 VINCENT PERSICHETTI: Symphony for Strings. ROBERT SANDERS: Little Symphony No. 2 in Bb. BORIS BLACHER: Studie im Pianissimo, Opus 45.

5458 LUIGI DALLAPICCOLA: Variazioni per Orchestra. JOSE PABLO MONCAYO: Cumbres. ULYSSES KAY: Serenade for Orchestra. DARIUS MILHAUD: Ouverture Mediterraneenne.

54510 ALBERTO GINASTERA: Pampeana No. 3, A Pastoral Symphony. WILLIAM BERGSMA: A Carol on Twelfth Night. HENRI SAUGUET: Les Trois Lys. ROBERT WARD: Euphony for Orchestra.

54511 GIAN-FRANCESCO MALIPIERO: Fantasie di Ogni Giorno. VITTORIO RIETI: Introduzione e Gioco Delle Ore. ERNST BACON: The Enchanted Island.

561 HILDING ROSENBERG: Louisville Concerto. CHOU WEN-CHUNG: And the Fallen Petals. CAMARGO GUARNIERI: Suite IV Centenario.

562 ALEXANDRE TANSMAN: Capriccio. FELIX BOROWSKI: The Mirror. INGOLF DAHL: The Tower of St. Barbara.

563 ERNST KRENEK: Eleven Transparencies. ROBERTO CAAMANO: Magnificat, Op. 20. Choir of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

572 ANDRE JOLIVET: Suite Transoceane. JOHN VINCENT: Symphony in D.

574 ROGER SESSIONS: "Idyll of Theocritus" for Soprano and Orchestra (Audrey Nossaman, Soprano).

575 NED ROREM: Design for Orchestra. BERNARD REICHEL: Suite Symphonique.

576 EDMUND RUBBRA: Improvisation for Violin and Orchestra (Sidney Harth, Violinist). IRVING FINE: Serious Song: A Lament for String Orchestra. HAROLD MORRIS: Passacaglia, Adagio and Finale.

581 ALEXEI HAIEFF: Ballet in E. NICOLAS NABOKOV: Symboli Chrestiani for Baritone and Orchestra (William Pickett, Baritone).

582 LOU HARRISON: "Four Strict Songs" for Eight Baritones and Orchestra. PETER JONA KORN: Variations on a Tune from "The Beggar's Opera."

583 ELLIOTT CARTER: Variations for Orchestra. EVERETT HELM: Second Piano Concerto (Benjamin Owen, Pianist).

586 WALTER PISTON: Serenata. DAVID VAN VACTOR: Fantasia, Chaconne and Allegro. NIELS VIGGO BENTZON: Pezzi Sinfonici, Opus 109.

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593 HERBERT ELWELL: Concert Suite for Violin and Orchestra (Sidney Harth, violinist). HALSEY STEVENS: Sinfonia Breve.

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596 BOHUSLAV MARTINU: Estampes. NIKOLAI LOPATNIKOFF: Music for Orchestra, Op. 39.

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602 KLAUS EGGE: Symphony No. 3, Louisville Symphony. ROY HARRIS. "Kentucky Spring."

604 WILLIAM SCHUMAN: Judith, A Choreographic Poem. GIAN-FRANCESCO MALIPIERO: Piano Concerto No. 3 (Benjamin Owen, Soloist).

605 PAUL HINDEMITH: Sinfonietta in E. CLAUDE ALMOND: John Gilbert: A Steamboat Overture. DAVID DIAMOND: Overture: "Timon of Athens."

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For an Atlantic Confederacy

HENRY A. KISSINGER

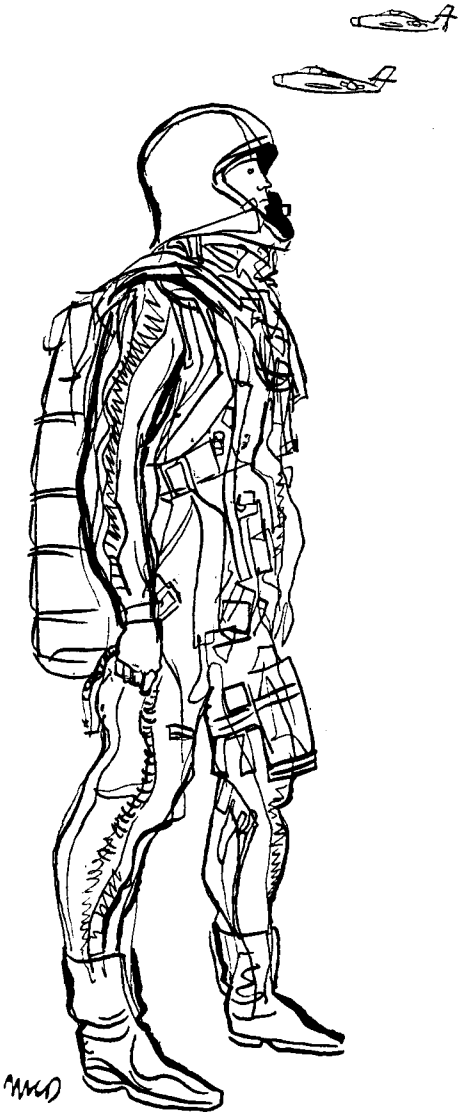
THE NEW ADMINISTRATION faces no more crucial problem than to restore vitality to the Atlantic alliance. Almost every crisis finds the West divided or uncertain. Each ally seeks to retain maximum freedom of action while claiming full support on any issues which it considers vital. Repeated liturgical invocations of solidarity cannot mask the basic disunity.

The alliance cannot survive the kind of diplomacy that preceded the abortive summit conference of 1960. The separate conferences of the western heads of state with Khrushchev, one after another, were piously called "conversations." But heads of state cannot just converse; indeed, summit conferences are urged with the argument that only heads of state are in a position to make binding decisions. Whatever the protestations to the contrary, separate conversations raise the possibility of bilateral arrangements. That such a style of diplomacy inherently creates distrust is shown by the fact that President Eisenhower, to make plain his good faith, found it necessary to tour Europe before meeting the Soviet premier, and that other heads of state visited their colleagues to report on their conversations with Mr. Khrushchev.

Negotiations with the Soviet Union have become involved in the domestic politics of the allied countries, whose political leaders have found it wise to run on claims of their peculiar ability to bring about peace by restraining bellicose or recalcitrant allies. This has created additional pressures for bilateral negotiations, and has contributed to make the alliance appear as an obstacle to a settlement.

This situation must be ended. While very considerable improvements are possible by co-ordinating national policies, the really dramatic need is for a structural change in the relationships within the alliance. Much can be done by the traditional methods of improved consultation and co-ordination, but the fundamental change involves a willingness to surrender a measure of sovereignty in specified fields.

The great revolution of our time is the breakdown of the self-sufficient nation-state. Not even the most powerful country is capable by itself of maintaining security or of realizing the aspirations of its people. One of the ironies of our day is that more and more nations are coming into being at the precise moment when the nation-state is becoming incapable of dealing with many of its problems and the interdependence of states is ever more obvious. A stage of exacerbated nationalism, perhaps even of xenophobia, may be inevitable for many of the new countries. But we of the West who gave the concept of nationalism to others can show the way to a new international order in which the nation finds fulfillment as a part of larger structures. We can do so by transforming the North Atlantic area into a true commonwealth.



The Obsolete Strategy

The area of military security is most immediately in need of structural change. Though an effective military policy is no guarantee of constructive diplomacy, constructive diplomacy is impossible without it. Few of the outstanding issues—the future of Germany, the significance of nuclear weapons, or arms control—can be dealt with without a prior agreement about the strategic issues.

A welter of dispute fills the air. Is Europe more secure because our nuclear arsenal is more powerful than ever, or less secure because we are vulnerable as never before? Does the increase in the range of missiles and manned planes make a substantial military establishment on the Continent more important or less? How can NATO contribute to disciplining the arms race?

During the first decade of its existence, NATO relied on the strategy of retaliation. The strategic striking forces, however, remained under the exclusive control of the two extracontinental allies, the United States and Great Britain. With its primary weapon outside the NATO structure and not subject to NATO control, the western alliance inevitably took on

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the character of a unilateral U.S. guarantee. Our European allies demanded a substantial commitment of United States and British troops on the Continent, but the role of these forces was conceived almost as that of hostages—to ensure that the American and British retaliatory power would in fact be employed against Soviet attack. The military establishment on the Continent came to be thought of as a tripwire designed to release the United States and British retaliatory force. This strategy has now reached a dead end.

A retaliatory strategy can ensure the security of Europe only if two conditions are met: (1) our strategic force must be sufficiently strong to *win* an all-out war if we strike first, and (2) it must be so invulnerable that even if we should be the victim of a surprise attack it can inflict damage considered intolerable by the Soviet Union. In these circumstances, the Soviet Union would not dare to attack Europe for fear of triggering a pre-emptive strike which would destroy its means of retaliation. It could not launch a simultaneous attack on Europe and the United States, for our retaliation would, by hypothesis, still produce unacceptable losses. This in effect was the situation during the period of our strategic preponderance. However, in the decade ahead these conditions will be next to impossible to meet.

In the period of the missile gap, that is, between 1961 and 1964, it will be technically impossible for us to win an all-out war. After the missile gap is closed, it is theoretically conceivable that we could again achieve strategic superiority through either offensive or defensive breakthroughs. Yet we cannot gear our policy to such an expectation. The only responsible course is to base strategy on the assumption of the mutual invulnerability of the retaliatory forces, and to admit that to attain even this goal requires major efforts we have heretofore refused to make.

Under conditions of mutual invulnerability, it will become increasingly futile to rely on the strategy of the past decade. The defense of Europe can, then, no longer rest on the threat of all-out war alone, for this threat might not be believed and might thus tempt aggression. Even if we made good our threat, this would only ensure our destruction without protecting our allies.

If Europe can be defended *only* by all-out war, NATO will face a hopeless dilemma: to yield to pressure will set up a pattern of Soviet blackmail; to resist will involve catastrophic dev-

astation. The Berlin crisis is probably but an augury. As the strategic choices for NATO grow more stark, Soviet policy is likely to become increasingly bold.

THESE DIFFICULTIES became explicit at the time of Sputnik, when Soviet advances in the missile field —theretofore attributed to the imaginings of overwrought pessimists— became manifest. The result was a conviction in the West that the Soviet earth satellite heralded an immediate United States inferiority, and the strange conclusion was drawn that America's panicky reply —the offer of intermediate-range missiles to Europe—was for our exclusive benefit.

It was a strange argument indeed. For *if* the United States had, in fact, become vulnerable as a result of Sputnik, and *if* the bases in Europe were a means to remedy that vulnerability, it would appear that our European allies should have had a positive interest in obtaining intermediate-range missiles. But though it should have been obvious that the security of our allies depended on the security of the United States, many of our critics in Europe argued that it was not to Europe's interest to contribute to our defense.

Nothing could have revealed better the futility of continuing to rely on all-out war for the defense of Europe. Many people in Europe, after Sputnik confronted them with the implications of NATO strategy, seemed above all concerned with banishing war from their territory. In the process, they neglected to ask themselves this crucial question: If so many Europeans recoiled before the consequences of the only strategy available, even in the defense of Europe, how could the United States be expected for an indefinite period of time to assume even more cataclysmic risks on behalf of foreign countries, however closely allied?

During the next decade this problem must be resolved. There can be no substitute for a greater western effort to build up local defenses—and especially conventional forces.

Three factors have made a greater emphasis on conventional forces imperative: the growth of nuclear stockpiles, the increased significance of missiles, and the impact of arms-control negotiations centering on the control of nuclear weapons. The first two factors magnify the risks of retaliation and complicate the problem of keeping a nuclear war limited. The trend of arms-control negotiations has served to stress a distinction between nuclear and conventional weapons which will paralyze NATO if its security comes to depend *entirely* on nuclear weapons.

Many of the assumptions regarding the impossibility of conventional defense and of "hordes" of Communist manpower are either fallacious or exaggerated. Both in available manpower and in industrial potential the non-Communist world is still superior. Conventional warfare favors the defense. Even in the Second World War, the attacker generally required a superiority of three to one. With improvements in conventional-weapons technology, this ratio could be increased further still. The conventional capability of the western alliance should be sufficiently powerful that a nuclear defense becomes the *last* rather than the *only* recourse.

Independent Nuclear Arsenals

The need to increase NATO conventional forces brings into sharp focus the problem of structural changes in

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allied relationships. For a local defense of Europe is possible only if our partners are confident that their efforts will not be made irrelevant by Soviet atomic blackmail. Moreover, the growing Soviet ability to menace the United States has magnified doubts which first appeared during the Suez crisis: whether we can be relied upon to respond to every challenge our allies may consider vital and, if we do, whether we will use our power in a manner to protect their interests.

President de Gaulle has insisted that France requires a nuclear arsenal of its own because the United States might make a separate arrangement with the Soviet Union. He has also suggested that the major nuclear powers might reach a tacit agreement not to devastate each other and to confine their violence to other parts of the world. In either case, nuclear weapons under French control would be a means of keeping France from being a victim of nuclear war.

His views, though much criticized, differ from similar arguments in Great Britain only in their bluntness. Both British and French deterrents have been justified with the argument that possession of nuclear weapons would enable our allies to exert a greater influence over our actions. The question then arises, just what does this influence consist of? A nuclear capability, however small, obviously admits a country to certain negotiations. France, for example, has been excluded from the test-ban conference even though its survival depends as much on our decisions with respect to controlling nuclear weapons as with respect to deploying them. It is a paradoxical fact that in some circumstances arms-control negotiations can supply a motive for nuclear diffusion.

France and Britain have sought to create an independent deterrent so as to remove any doubt in the mind of a potential aggressor about the likelihood of retaliation when their security is at stake—regardless of what the United States might decide to do.

The reliance by NATO on a retaliatory strategy has thus had one of two consequences: either our European allies have considered themselves protected by our retaliatory force and have therefore seen no point in a substantial military effort of their own; or else, in the case of Britain and France, they have concentrated on developing a separate retaliatory capability, duplicating our efforts. Unilateral disarmament—tacit or avowed—and the quest for independent retaliatory forces are two sides of the same coin.

Either course is disastrous for NATO. Independent retaliatory forces in Europe will produce an illusory feeling of security that in some respects magnifies the danger. None of

our European allies can build a force capable of defeating the Soviet Union even by striking first. For all practical purposes, then, the strategic striking power of the Soviet Union is invulnerable in relation to the force of any single European nation. Thus it is extremely unlikely that any European country would initiate nuclear war, even in the face of considerable provocation. Europe is more densely populated than the Soviet Union. The distance to targets in western Europe from Soviet missile bases is short. Compared with an attack on the United States, a nuclear blow by the Soviet Union would therefore be more accurate and, because each missile would be able to carry a heavier payload, more destructive. Indeed, the Soviet Union might have a positive interest in ravaging the first European country that attempted independent nuclear action against it. Reduced to rubble, that country could become a symbol, warning all others of the perils of opposing Soviet designs by nuclear weapons.

Will retaliatory forces under national control at least be able to prevent nuclear attack against the country possessing them? Some people argue that in order to deter, a country need only be able to inflict damage out of proportion to any gain an aggressor might achieve. Yet if the Soviet Union could be reasonably sure that the United States would not intervene in case of a challenge to individual European allies—which is, after all, the chief motive for building up independent striking forces in Europe—Europe would be likely to be overwhelmed by the Soviet blow. The major utility of separate retaliatory forces in Europe would thus seem to be that they increase the aggressor's risk of American, not European, retaliation. They can deter only if the Soviet Union is convinced that conflict on a certain scale will unleash the United States strategic forces. Far from making us dispensable, the effectiveness of European separate retaliatory forces depends on the likelihood of U.S. intervention.

Moreover, each European country that acquires nuclear power will face in relation to its partners the inhibitions against resorting to all-out war which it has ascribed to the U.S. and which induced each of them to develop an independent retaliatory force in the first place. They will reserve nuclear retaliation for direct and overwhelming attacks on their national existence. In relation to all other issues, their relative weakness and greater proximity to the U.S.S.R. will probably produce hesitations exceeding our own. By the same token, each ally that may be fearful of being involved in a nuclear war against its will may take drastic steps to dissociate itself from its partners in tense periods. The result of a multiplication of national retaliatory forces must be the weakening, if not the disintegration, of NATO.

At the same time, we must understand the dilemma that has led to the effort by Great Britain and France to develop retaliatory forces. The present NATO doctrine relies for its primary weapon on the United States Strategic Air Command and, to a lesser extent, the British Bomber Command—forces which are outside NATO control. Indeed, their deployment for purposes of deterrence and their dispositions in case of war are unknown to our allies. While our partners are urged to integrate their conventional forces—which are ad-

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juncts in terms of the prevailing strategy—they have no effective voice in controlling the weapons on which, by our own assertions, their security primarily rests. In this situation our allies may come to feel that as long as the United States assumes the almost exclusive responsibility for the defense of Europe, it may subordinate their vital interests to its conception of the requirements of the over-all strategic situation.

As long as the control over nuclear weapons remains exclusively in American and British hands, even substantially larger conventional defense forces would not solve the security problem of our European allies. Whenever the United States was reluctant to invoke nuclear retaliation, European conventional forces would be useless. And it is idle for us to protest that such contingencies would not arise. Within the space of a decade too many divergent policies have been pursued within NATO to take refuge in such assertions. If the divergences between the various military establishments in NATO become too great and if our allies do not share in the control over nuclear weapons, a situation made to order for Soviet atomic blackmail may arise. The Soviet Union may strive to paralyze our partners through their sense of impotence and us through the fear of all-out nuclear war.

The Way Out

How to reconcile this dilemma? Can a capability for local defense be brought about as long as we retain exclusive control over the weapons that alone can enforce the limit of any war? How can we fashion a system of control that meets the needs of the alliance?

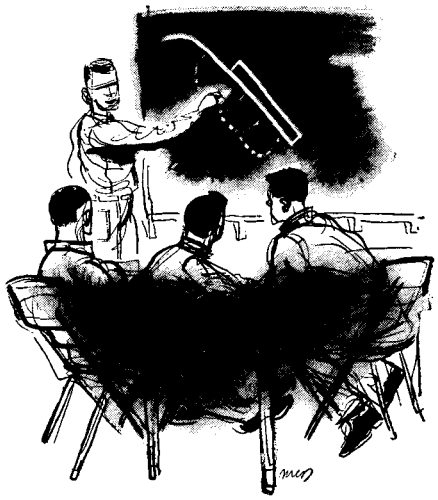
No purely strategic formula can substitute for an increase in political cohesion. The basic decision required is the recognition that isolated nationalist defense policies are no longer possible for the western alliance. Each member of NATO must be prepared to make some sacrifice of sovereignty. If the North Atlantic group of nations can increase its political cohesion so that it begins to approach a confederacy, the control of nuclear weapons and their location will become much less urgent problems. The deployment of NATO forces would then turn into an essentially technical issue. The only meaningful debate would concern the best dispositions of common weapons for the common welfare.

Great Britain and the United States do not have a moral right to deplore the acquisition of nuclear weapons by their allies unless they are prepared to take drastic steps in the direction of greater political integration. Since the most immediate problem is in the related fields of military policy and disarmament, such integration could take the following form:

¶ A political mechanism should be created with the power to make binding decisions for the western alliance as a whole in certain specified fields, particularly NATO strategy, arms control, and those negotiations with the Soviet Union which affect NATO as a whole, such as the issue of Berlin, German unification, and European security.

¶ The size of the nuclear stockpile available to NATO should be fixed periodically by the political body.

¶ Once the stockpile is determined, the United States would



agree not to withdraw weapons without the agreement of this political body.

¶ The political body would determine the circumstances in which nuclear weapons would be released to SHAPE (the military command).

¶ The United States would earmark a nuclear force for NATO and place it under NATO command.

¶ The British and French retaliatory forces would be placed under NATO command, except perhaps for token units.

¶ The allies would build up their conventional forces to the levels agreed upon under joint plans and would not reduce their forces assigned to NATO except with the agreement of the political body.

The temptation to turn a NATO nuclear force into an adjunct of a retaliatory strategy would be very great. Many will advocate a NATO nuclear force as a means of giving the alliance as a whole a part in the now prevalent United States strategy, which seeks to deter aggression by threatening to devastate the Soviet homeland.

However, it would be tragic if we were to export this theory to our alliance as a whole at a moment when it is becoming increasingly reckless even for us. The deliberate attempt to stake security on the threat of mutual suicide makes inevitable the growth of sentiment for peace at any price.

In a strategy based essentially on conventional weapons, the primary purpose of a NATO nuclear force should be to counteract nuclear blackmail. Accuracy and mobility are prime requisites of a NATO nuclear force: accuracy is necessary to permit discriminatory retaliation; mobility is needed to reduce vulnerability to surprise attack. Both explosive power and range should be sacrificed to these requirements. The fact that the NATO nuclear force could not win a general war even by striking first would remove an incentive for a Soviet pre-emptive attack. The inability of a NATO nuclear force to destroy the entire Soviet retaliatory power would be a guarantee of its defensive purpose.

Some object to a NATO nuclear force on the grounds that it would transform NATO into an offensive alliance. But an atomic force with the characteristics described above could not conceivably be used in pursuit of a single nation's quarrel with the Soviet Union, for no NATO component would be in a position to initiate nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Another objection to a NATO nuclear force is the opposite of the first. Here the argument is not that a NATO nuclear force would increase the risk of war but that

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"fifteen fingers on the trigger" would be too unreliable a deterrent. If we continue to identify deterrence with a retaliatory strategy, this view has merit. But if a NATO nuclear force is conceived as an adjunct to an essentially conventional defense of Europe, it may well prove indispensable.

The phrase "fifteen fingers on the trigger" calls attention, however, to the key problem of the western alliance: the impossibility of continuing to conduct affairs on the basis of a rigid insistence on national sovereignty.

A Common Program

For more than a decade now, the nations bordering the North Atlantic have been living off the capital provided by the great initiative of the Marshall Plan. At that time, the American commitment to help build up the economy of our European allies represented a fundamental break with our isolationist past. It seemed then that to restore the nations of Europe to the well-being and self-sufficiency of the prewar period was enough for our generation. The economy of Europe prospered as never before. But with the achievement—indeed the surpassing—of the vision of a decade ago, it has become ever more important to relate these prosperous states to each other. The leap forward required in the next decade is the creation of a political framework that will go beyond the nationalism which has dominated the past century and a half.

Detailed institutional arrangements are less urgent at this stage than a commitment to a bold program of political construction. One scheme would be the creation of a steering committee for the Atlantic alliance empowered to act for the alliance as a whole on defense policy; on arms control, at least with respect to Europe; on East-West relations; on certain specified economic policies, particularly with respect to interest rates; and on a common program for economic assistance to emerging areas. The steering committee could be composed of seven members. Four would be permanent; three would be rotating. The permanent members would be the United States, Great Britain, France, and West Germany. The rotating members would be elected by a vote of the NATO Council from which the permanent members of the steering committee would be excluded, thus protecting the rights of the smaller countries. The allies would agree to accept as binding a majority of five in the steering committee.

In order to take account of constitutional limitations against such a delegation of sovereignty, there could be provisions enabling each ally not on the steering committee to participate in its deliberations, though in that case without a vote. Each ally, whether or not a member of the steering committee, could appeal its decisions to the NATO Council. For an interim period, each ally would be given an opportunity to dissociate itself from the common decisions by making a formal declaration to that effect within a given time. The steering committee would be responsible for the composition, control, and command arrangements of the NATO nuclear force. On crucial negotiations such as arms control and the future of Germany, the NATO nations should be represented by a single delegation with a single position; and this in turn requires common security policies.

It will be said that this will result in the freezing of East-West relations, and that we will be deprived of flexibility in arms-control negotiations, particularly with respect to such schemes as disengagement and denuclearized zones. It will be argued that by tying ourselves too closely to our European allies we will be tarred with the brush of colonialism and lose influence among the new nations. These objections, while important, are not decisive.

With respect to arms control, the various schemes for European security that have been proposed can grow out of two sets of conditions: they can result from an essentially bilateral U.S.-Soviet negotiation, or else they can be negotiated by NATO as a unit. It seems obvious that the former approach would give our allies the feeling that they have become objects of bargaining.

A lasting arms-control arrangement cannot be built on this basis. The nations of the West must realize that they cannot combine all the advantages of partnership with all the benefits of independent action. An increase in western cohesion would actually enhance allied flexibility with respect to arms control. A North Atlantic community could, for example, negotiate with much greater assurance about such schemes as a denuclearized zone in Central Europe. The obstacle now is the belief of the peoples most affected that that their best guarantee of protection resides in the physical presence of the full panoply of modern arms. To the degree that NATO is integrated politically and militarily, the stationing of its weapons becomes a much less compulsive issue. The areas without nuclear weapons might then feel protected by having a voice in what would be common institutions and a common strategy.

As FOR the fear that a North Atlantic confederacy would compromise us with the emerging nations, two considerations must be kept in mind. In its first stage the confederacy would be confined to specific, clearly delimited tasks. It would therefore not exclude different approaches outside these fields.

More importantly, soon not a single member of NATO except Portugal will possess colonies to which independence has not been promised for the near future. The colonial issue is thus likely to diminish between us and our essential allies. The problems which remain can be approached much better on a common basis than through a nostalgic effort to lead the anti-colonial revolution against our closest allies. For a while longer the western alliance can proceed along familiar routes. Nevertheless a turning point can prove decisive even though it is not easily recognizable. In the past, some disaster—aggression or defeat—made the need for unity manifest. In our time, a disaster is likely to be irreparable. The question before the western alliance is whether it can muster the dedication and creativity that are required *before* the worst happens.

All major historic changes have seemed fantastic to contemporaries. The challenge of such periods is the willingness to break with the familiar. We are now at such a point in our relations with Western Europe.

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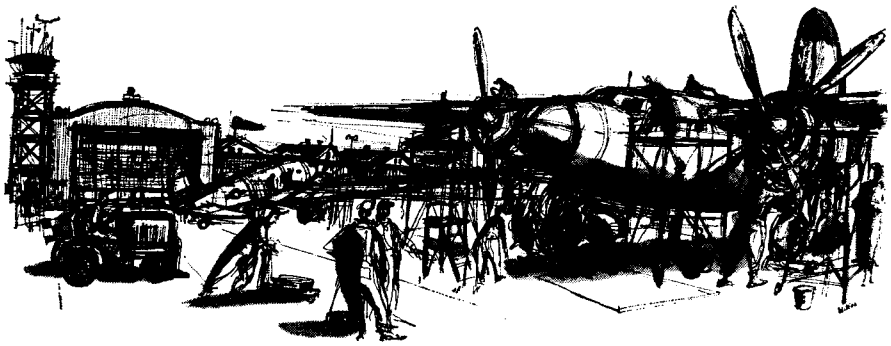

Electronics, the Human Element, And Air Safety

STUART H. LOORY

As traffic cops, the nation's seventeen thousand air-traffic controllers performed nobly and they knew it. Until last December 16, they could boast that there had never been a mid-air collision of two planes under their care. This single fact stood as conclusive testimony that air-traffic control, while not as good as could be expected, was safe.

Then came the mid-air collision of a United Air Lines DC-8 jet and a Trans World Airlines Super Constellation over Staten Island, New York. Both planes were under control of Federal Aviation Agency men on the ground. The controllers were working with the most modern tools available for air-traffic control, including the latest in radar. Yet the jet, inbound to Idlewild Airport from Chicago, overshot the limit of its clearance at 504 miles an hour when it should have been slowing to 207 mph, and sped eleven miles off course to slash into the Constellation, then making its approach to La Guardia. The death toll was 134. (The urgent need for close inspection of our air safety regulations was further emphasized by the crash of a Mexican Airlines jet taking off from Idlewild in a driving snow on the night of January 19.)

Clearly the two-year-old FAA was *not as far along as it hoped it was* in providing the tools for modern air-traffic control.

Two years ago, Elwood R. ("Pete") Quesada, the retired Air Force lieutenant general chosen by President Eisenhower to straighten out chaotic conditions on the airways, told a reporter that a system of high-speed electronic brains, mouths, eyes, and ears would be installed in New York by 1960. The equipment to which he referred would have prevented the December 16 collision, aviation's greatest calamity to date.

Lately Quesada, who stepped out of his job as chief of the 39,500-man FAA on President Kennedy's Inauguration Day to become president of the Washington Senators baseball team, revised his estimate for installation of the new equipment. It is, he said, ten years away from routine service in air-traffic control. In an interview during his final days with the FAA, he said:

"Air traffic control suffers from ten years of neglect. Basically we are using things that were in our equipment stockpile ten years ago. Air traffic control procedures have been improved. However, this has only been within the framework of the old system. The procedures we have been forced to employ are compatible with the manual system."

What is the manual system? It is basically the same set of procedures devised twenty-four years ago when eight controllers, stationed in Newark, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, began guiding DC-3s on instrument flights. Those workhorses of prewar commercial aviation flew far less crowded airways than today's, and at only 180 miles an hour.

The system involves wrapping a plane in a package of air ten minutes' flying time long, ten miles wide, and 1,000 feet high, and then making sure that each plane in the sky flying under the system stays out of each other's package. (This does not include planes flying under visual flight rules. They operate on a "see and be seen" principle. Planes flying under air-traffic control—that is, on instrument flight rules—are required to keep clear of VFR flights.)

Since the Second World War, radar has been added to the system. When this tool is employed, the package can be reduced to a container of air three miles in radius and still 1,000 feet high. The Constellation was flying in such a radar box and the jet was transferring from one box (controlled by a regional air-traffic center) to another (under Idlewild tower control) when the collision took place about 5,200 feet above New Dorp, Staten Island.

What Went Wrong?

The Civil Aeronautics Board conducted the largest investigation it has ever made of an air disaster, and several months will pass before it hands down a written opinion establishing the "probable cause" of the collision. But early in January the board held eight days of slow, meticulous public hearings in which much was revealed about deficiencies in air-traffic control and aviation safety.

One of the CAB investigators, privately summing up the findings of the hearings, commented, "The whole thing adds up to sloppy operations." His point was that in the days of the old DC-3s, some room was left for sloppy operations. Now, with jets traveling at speeds making it impossible for men to think and act fast enough in emergencies to avoid disaster, the system demands that everyone involved work at perfection.

The bulky hearing record reveals several instances of less than perfect operations. For example, the jet crew failed to report to the controllers that one of the plane's two radio navigation receivers was out of

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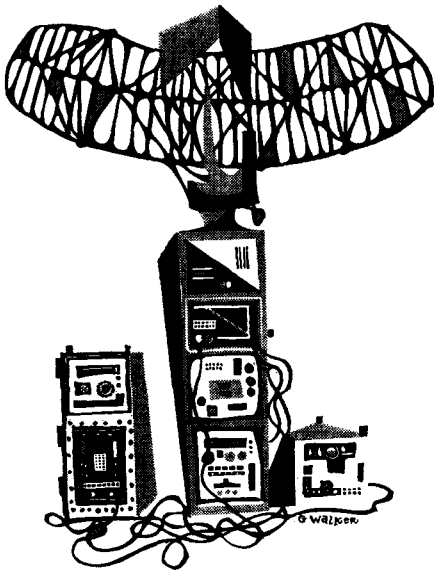
order. This fact had been reported to United ground facilities over a radio frequency not monitored by the FAA.

Meanwhile, controllers in FAA's Air Route Traffic Control Center in New York, which guides all approaching instrument flight traffic over New Jersey and parts of five neighboring states, cleared the jet along a short



cut that took several minutes off its flying time. As a result, the crew had less time to use its one radio to do the work of two in establishing a "fix" on the intersection of two radio beams in central New Jersey designated "Preston" on airway charts. The jet had been cleared to fly only to Preston and circle there if necessary while awaiting transfer from the New York center to approach controllers at Idlewild.

Then the jet pilot, Captain Robert H. Sawyer, was advised to expect no delay (i.e., there would be no need to circle) if he could fly over Preston at an altitude of 5,000 feet. This advice came only about three and a quarter minutes before the collision. Information taken from the jet's flight recorder shows that at this time Captain Sawyer nosed his huge plane, carrying seventy-seven passengers and seven crewmen, into a steep dive from 14,000 feet to make the lower altitude. The recorder also indicates that Captain Sawyer did not compensate for a strong crosswind that blew him off course, shortening his route by another two miles.

At the hearings, FAA officials testified that the short-cut routing has since been discontinued as "a precautionary move to enable pilots to have more time to establish the [Preston] fix and get into the pattern."

WHILE the jet sped along its collision course to Staten Island, a series of minor slipups, each apparently inconsequential in itself, took place in the FAA's air-traffic control facilities. According to the testimony, a New York center controller, while arranging transfer of the jet from the center's jurisdiction to that of the Idlewild tower, called the tower to advise approach controllers of the plane's arrival at Preston but gave a wrong direction of approach and a wrong estimated time of arrival of the jet over Preston. According to his message, the plane would fly to Preston on a northwest rather than a northeast tack and would arrive five or six minutes later than it actually did. The FAA attached little importance to these errors, asserting the information was only "general."

The same controller testified that he failed to press hard enough on a switch intended to activate a signal light in the tower reserving a space in the Preston pattern for the jet and informing tower controllers that they would be responsible for the plane in the pattern. Thus the tower controllers were unprepared to assume command when, four to sixteen seconds before the collision, the jet crew called to establish contact, saying "'proaching Preston at five thousand."

When this call came, a tower radar controller scanned his scope and found no aircraft in the Preston area. The apparent reason: the jet was already eleven miles beyond the fix and about to ram into the Constellation.

About the same time, three radar controllers in the La Guardia tower spotted an unidentified target on their scopes coming into the La Guardia area of operations from Preston. One of the controllers was guiding the Constellation and gave its captain, David A. Wollan, two warnings of the approaching northeastbound traffic.

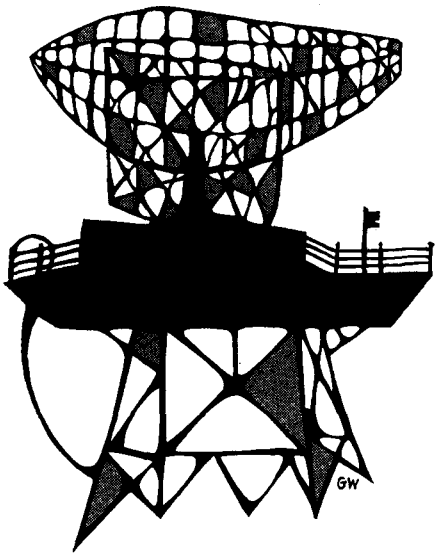
At the time he delivered the first warning, the La Guardia controller testified, there was still "a remote possibility" that he could have taken action to avoid the collision. But, he said, such action was not his to initiate. Under existing rules, the controller asserted, a pilot must request a routing to avoid a collision, even if the pilot, as in Captain Wollam's case, was descending through clouds and could not see beyond the limits of his cockpit.

With these facts in mind, Charles F. McErlean, United Air Lines vice-president in charge of legal affairs, commented at the close of the CAB hearings:

"At this time we think it can safely be said that this accident would not have happened had Air Traffic Control properly utilized the equipment, personnel and facilities available. . . . Frankly we have been shocked at some of the things we have learned since this investigation started."

Of course McErlean has a problem. He must try to explain away the fact that the United jet flew beyond the limit of its clearance to Preston, an inexcusable practice for aircraft flying on instrument flight rules. So far there has been no evidence that any equipment malfunction in the plane could have caused it to go off course.

Quesada undoubtedly disagrees with McErlean's thesis that present equipment, manpower, and facilities have been misused. In fact, United



and the FAA have been at odds on the cause of the collision since it happened and Quesada recently charged that reckless driving by the pilot seemed to be involved. There is little doubt, however, that had the newest tools of air-traffic control been

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installed, they could have prevented the Staten Island collision. They would have left some margin for human error.

Things to Come

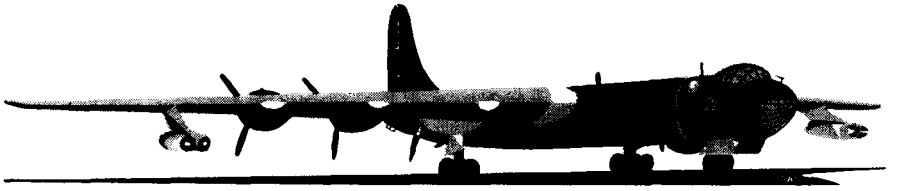
These tools are presently being built and tested at the FAA's six-thousand-acre experimental center near Atlantic City. They include:

¶ Three-dimensional radar. With this device, the La Guardia controller could have told in a single glance at his scope that the two targets on a collision course were actually signals from planes at the same altitude. (Current radar only displays a plane's geographical position, not its altitude.) Such a device will be tested at the FAA center for the first time this month. Lead times in electronics production being what they are, it cannot go into service until late 1963 at the earliest, assuming that the FAA approves the device within a few months.

¶ Better identification of radar targets. At present, controllers have only primitive methods of telling which blips on their crowded radarscopes represent particular planes in flight. Scientists are seeking some method of automatically labeling the blips. With such a method the Idlewild tower's radar man could have spotted the blip over Staten Island that should have been under his control.

¶ More accurate routing information. The FAA is building an electronic computer, called a "data processing central" (DPC), that will do all the routine thinking and bookkeeping in air-traffic control. The new electronic brain of the system will do away with all errors and conflicts in routing. It will keep flight records up to date and automatically transmit flight information to all necessary controllers throughout the system. Hooked up in a network throughout the country, the computers will be able to "talk" to each other over Teletype circuits without human interference. Had a DPC been working on December 16, the Idlewild tower would have received proper information from the center on the jet's approach procedures. "We have an abundance of data, more than we can process," Mr. Quesada said in explaining the need for the DPC. "We can't expect the human being to remember all that is contained in the information. By application of computer techniques, we hope to overcome this."

Once all the information is computed, a system is necessary to keep it flowing rapidly back and forth between aircraft and ground controllers. For this, the FAA is building another computer-type machine called Automatic Ground-Air Communications System (AGACS, pronounced Ajax), which will conduct question-and-answer sessions with five hundred planes (not pilots) every two minutes. AGACS would give the DPC automatic position reports, from which the brain would then clear planes to fly from one fix to another along their routes—all without human intervention.



Should there be a need for communications between pilot and controller, the men can break into the circuit and send precoded messages which would come into the cockpit or control room in written form, obviating the possibility of misunderstandings. Examples of such misunderstandings and of the necessity for pilots and controllers to repeat messages are scattered through the transcripts of conversations between each of the planes and the control facilities involved in the Staten Island collision.

As backstops for the ground-control system, the FAA plans to require installation of simplified navigation aids and anti-collision devices in aircraft cockpits. These are still under development.

THE PROBLEMS involved in developing the vastly improved air-traffic control system are not all technological. Money is also needed. Quesada estimated that the government would have to spend $150 million a year for ten years to bring the system up to date. (By 1970, "up to date" will mean making the system adequate for planes flying two or three times the speed of sound, not just 600 mph.)

During the 1960 fiscal year, Congress appropriated $118.2 million for expanding the air-traffic control system. The amount represented a decrease of $40.3 million from the year before. The separate appropriation for research and development was increased, however, from $33.4 million to $48.7 million between fiscal 1959 and 1960.

Adequate air-traffic control does not mean that only the Federal government must spend money. The new tools will require new equipment in the planes. And this means that commercial airlines, private and business users of the system, and the military must undertake considerable expense. Thus some degree of approval for the equipment must be won from these groups before installations are made.

Another obstacle facing the FAA: some prominent individuals in the aviation industry feel the present system is "superb," the adjective used by Max Karant, vice-president of the Aircraft Owners and Pilots Association. That group, representing owners of small pleasure craft and business planes as well as pilots, has been denounced with several others by Quesada for obstructionist tactics.

By the end of 1960, there were 110,360 planes in use in the United States. Thirty per cent of all flights were made under air-traffic control. Controllers handled more than 2,000 flights a day. The airlines carried 58,400,000 passengers a total of 393,039,700,000 miles last year, and 364 passengers and crewmen were killed in commercial accidents. Unofficially computed, the accident rate was 0.93 deaths per hundred million miles flown, compared to a 0.65 rate in 1959 and a 0.43 rate in 1958.

Viewed against such statistics, encouragement of the *status quo* in air-traffic control has its dangers.

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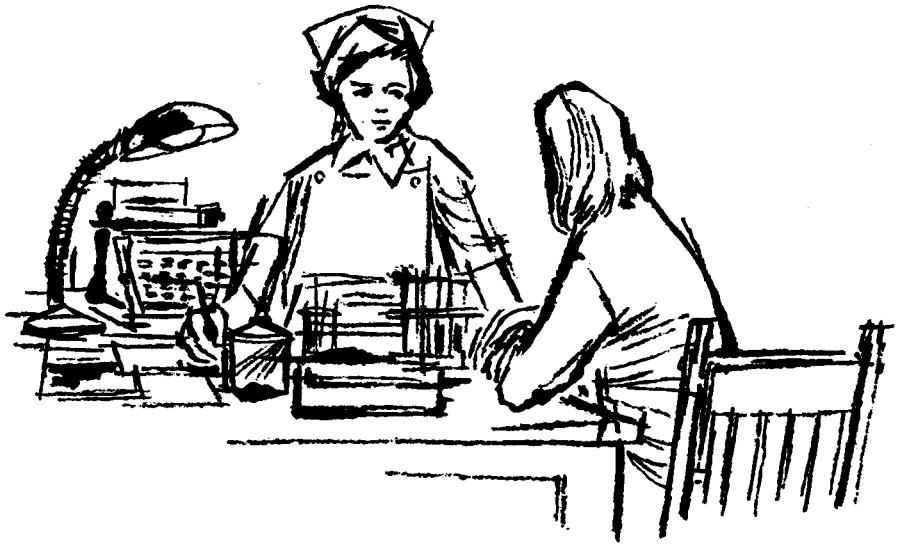

Health Care for the Aged: An Unexpected Victory

EDWARD T. CHASE

ALTHOUGH it wasn't planned that way, one generous step General Eisenhower took to ease the transition from the old administration to the new was his sixteenth, final, and probably most important "White House conference," which ended just a few days before he left office. For the White House Conference on Aging has greatly enhanced Mr. Kennedy's chances of achieving one of his most cherished objectives, the enactment of a medical-care plan for the aged based on an increase in the Social Security tax so that all elderly patients would be entitled to insurance benefits without having to submit to a means test to prove that they were indigent.

Some of the most effective blows for Mr. Kennedy's proposals were landed by prominent Eisenhower Republicans. Marion B. Folsom, a former Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, delivered a formidable factual analysis establishing the superiority of the Social Security mechanism over public-assistance "charity" for elderly citizens in need of medical care. Arthur Larson, a former Presidential assistant who has enjoyed a reputation as a leading Republican egghead and is now director of Duke University's World Rule of Law Center, argued for the same point on philosophical grounds. Neither Senator Pat McNamara, who the week before had introduced the Democratic bill calling for the Social Security approach, nor President George Meany of the AFL-CIO could add anything to the two Republicans' contributions. Furthermore, the American Medical Association failed to offer anything like an effective rebuttal, let alone a persuasive case for any alternative plan. And so there was considerable jubilation but little surprise over the resounding final vote of 170 to 99 for the Social Security approach by the conference groups with jurisdiction over this issue.

The jubilation was based on the assumption that if the conference had gone the other way—if it had approved the public-assistance approach, or even if it had ended in a stalemate—the pressures exerted by the A.M.A. and elements of the insurance industry on the all-important House Ways and Means Committee would have been immeasurably, perhaps decisively, strengthened. The Ways and Means Committee is the real battleground for this issue in 1961, as it was a year ago. That is where the bill must clear the crucial first hurdle, and A.M.A. lobbyists count the noses there daily, exerting every effort to hold the line. But there can be no doubt now that the conference has shown, in the words of a New York *Times* editorial, "impressive endorsement" of the Social Security principle by a significant public representation.

OMENS of impending defeat for the A.M.A. appeared at an early hour. In a briefing session of the doctor delegates at the District of Columbia Medical Society headquarters the day before the conference began, Dr. Benedict Duffy of Hudson County, New Jersey, spoke out in protest against the A.M.A.'s propaganda package. "Don't flood me with what I know isn't true," said Dr. Duffy. "I am a practitioner. I will stand with you. But I wish we could all be Americans first and physicians second." The applause that followed was a good deal more than polite. Dr. Elkin Ravetz of Philadelphia also got a big hand when he said he wished the A.M.A. were known *for* something rather than simply "against progress."

Despite incessant (and widely resented) quarterbacking by Dr. Ernest B. Howard, the A.M.A. official who had recently notified the nation that his organization would fight the Kennedy Social Security approach to the death, individual doctor delegates were often apologetic in introducing their comments. And no speaker seemed both willing and able to make a persuasive case for the Kerr-Mills bill—the compromise measure that had squeaked through last summer's rump session of Congress after lobbying pressure and the threat of a veto had killed chances for any major legislation. It provides Federal grants to match state assistance and to those deemed "medically indigent"; it thus applies only to elderly people whose inability to meet their own medical care has been demonstrated by a means test. Though even the Kerr-Mills bill violated the major principles the A.M.A. had espoused earlier in 1960 when it favored *no* legislation, the A.M.A. gave the measure strong support when it was clear that some type of legislation was going to be passed.

Aside from any objections on social or philosophical grounds, the

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bill has exhibited this further serious defect: it doesn't work. Most states simply lack the funds to match the proposed Federal grants. Hence state participation has been virtually nil, only five states having acted to participate at last count. The Kerr-Mills bill has not even made a dent in the problem that was restated at the conference by speaker after speaker and document after document: four-fifths of the 15.7 million Americans sixty-five and over have yearly incomes under $2,000, three-fifths under $1,000; although the aged have two to three times more illness than the rest of us, less than half of them have any degree of health-insurance coverage at all.

A Matter of Compulsion

The publication of Mr. Kennedy's special task-force report on "Health and Social Security for the American People" was also not lost upon the conference delegates. Professor Wilbur J. Cohen of the University of Michigan, chairman of the task force, had originally informed President Eisenhower that he could not accept an invitation to participate in the conference, since he felt the meeting was "stacked" for organized medicine. Actually, it was generally agreed that the states had succeeded rather well in sending delegations that were at once representative and qualified; and when Cohen, who is probably the best-known social-welfare expert in the nation, suddenly did make an appearance on the third day, he was received by the delegates with a loud round of applause.

By then a band-wagon atmosphere had invaded the conference. It was easy to give credence to the widely circulated report that Mr. Eisenhower's last Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Arthur S. Flemming, would align himself in a month or so with the Democrats in favoring the Social Security approach and that Richard Nixon too would fall in line. Indeed, one of the most persistent stories in welfare circles in Washington has been that both Flemming and Nixon had actually come out for the Social Security approach in a Cabinet meeting just a year ago, but had been slapped down because Mr. Eisenhower, in order to get A.M.A. approval for the creation of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare during his first administration, had pledged that he would never endorse a "compulsory" measure such as the Social Security approach.

In any case, the charge that the Kennedy program is "compulsory" has been the main Republican and A.M.A. weapon against the Social Security approach. Yet it is hard to see how anyone would have the courage to advance the argument again, so thoroughly was it demolished at the White House Conference by Folsom, Larson, Meany, and others. All of them stressed what has been obvious to students of the question and yet had been almost never brought out during the Presidential campaign: that *all* schemes involving tax funding of medical care are compulsory since they all depend upon compulsory taxes—but in the case of Social Security, that is where the compulsory feature begins and ends. Freedom of choice of doctor or hospital has been written into the proposed laws, from the original Forand bill to the measure that has superseded it, the McNamara bill. This, curiously enough, is more than can be said of the A.M.A.-backed Kerr-Mills law, wherein freedom of choice is not stipulated. Indeed, it leaves the individual states the right to impose any kind of compulsory features they may wish.

One certain political consequence of the conference is that the major organizations that have stuck with the A.M.A. in its battle will now be reconsidering their public position. The most important of them, Blue Cross—which is to say the American Hospital Association, which controls it—is likely at last to split with the A.M.A. after such a resounding popular endorsement of the Social Security principle. There has long been powerful minority sentiment for such a declaration of independence by Blue Cross leaders convinced that A.M.A. intransigence over any kind of reforms will in the long run threaten the very survival of Blue Cross.

Two basic developments in recent years have decisively affected the private practice of medicine. One is technological progress—the new scientific equipment, surgical procedures, and wonder drugs that have greatly increased the costs of medical care; the second is the emergence of the elderly as a large and rapidly increasing segment of the population, people for the most part no longer gainfully employed but who have the greatest need of the costly new medicine they cannot afford. Many doctors —and this is especially true of the officials who run powerful county medical societies—bitterly resist any suggestion that these developments pose a massive social problem that makes government financing essential. They fear that government intrusion will inevitably involve the setting of standards and official surveillance to prevent misuse of public funds. This form of "creeping socialism" is construed as a potential threat not only to professional independence but also to the hallowed fee system that has made medicine the highest paid of all the professions. But the ferment in medicine today—the trend toward group practice, salaried doctors, new types of community health centers, government funding of medical research, new programs for the education and care of the elderly—occurs not because of "creeping socialism," as the A.M.A. claims, but mostly because modern medicine costs so much.

Although the White House Conference on Aging dealt with many problems other than the financing of health care for the aged, its principal result has been to clarify the basic question that is at the heart of the repeated controversies plaguing organized medicine as it struggles from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. That question is whether medical care has come to be a basic human right comparable to the right to food, clothing, and shelter, or is a service purchasable only by those with the necessary private means. It is clear that the conference gave overwhelming support to the thesis that medical care has become a basic human right, a right that can best be guaranteed not by reliance on charity, which is both economically and morally untenable, but by individual contributions via a payroll tax during one's working lifetime in order to assure adequate medical care for the retirement years.

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De Gaulle's New Mandate

EDMOND TAYLOR

PARIS

THOUGH nobody has suggested a recount, the parties or politicians who backed the losing side in the recent referendum in France have been conducting a lively campaign to convince the French public and foreign observers that the seventy-five per cent vote of confidence the nation gave President de Gaulle on January 8 does not mean what it seems to mean. Pierre Poujade, the tax dodgers' friend and die-hard supporter of *l'Algérie Française*, claims that the real victor at the polls was himself. For tactical reasons, Poujade advised his followers to abstain rather than to vote "No," and he regards the rise in abstentionism in mainland France from 15.44 per cent in the referendum of 1958 approving the Fifth Republic to 23.51 per cent in the latest one as a personal triumph.

The Communists, who on the whole withstood the Gaullist landslide better than the Right, had an even more ingenious interpretation: most Frenchmen who voted "No" did so because Maurice Thorez told them it meant voting for negotiations with the Algerian rebels. As the Communists see it, a great many of the millions who absent-mindedly voted for de Gaulle really had the same objective. By adding together an arbitrary proportion of "Yesses" and "Noes," the Communists prove to their own satisfaction that much more than seventy-five per cent of the French population supported the party line, or meant to at any rate. Some friends of former Premier Pierre Mendès-France —who originally favored an attitude of "positive abstentionism" until indirect Communist pressure forced him into the "No" camp—and independent left-wing intellectuals like Professor Maurice Duverger of *Le Monde* seemingly accept the basic Communist contention that the referendum constituted an imperative mandate, just short of an ultimatum, to de Gaulle to open immediate negotiations with the F.L.N. Because, as Duverger put it, "The whole campaign was steeped in an atmosphere of allusions to early peace and the renewal of negotiation," he and others consider the vote as a kind of short-term promissory note that obligates de Gaulle not only toward his supporters but also toward his opponents.

THE ALLUSIONS to Algeria in de Gaulle's three campaign speeches expressed the sense of urgency he feels about ending the six-year-old war there, but they were deliberately vague on his program of achieving peace. He acknowledged the force of Algerian nationalism but still avoided recognizing the F.L.N. as its exclusive bargaining agent. De Gaulle does not reject the idea of negotiating with the F.L.N., but he wants these negotiations to take place at a time and under conditions that will not be prejudicial to the honor of France. He asked the French voters to say that they wanted peace in Algeria—but not at any price.

De Gaulle's formal mandate covers only the two points that were explicitly submitted to the referendum—self-determination for Algeria, which has long been implicitly endorsed by the nation, and authorization to set up a transitional semi-autonomous Algerian authority, which de Gaulle still considers a useful lever for prying the F.L.N. leaders away from their intransigence. His real mandate, however, stemming in part from the varied content of his own campaign speeches with their richly suggestive overtones and in part from the overall context of the referendum, is both deeper and broader.

The impact of de Gaulle's brief television appeal to the nation on the eve of the referendum seems in particular to have far-reaching political and constitutional implications for the future. Some French liberals who had originally planned to vote "Yes" decided to boycott the polls after hearing de Gaulle address the voters over the heads of the professional politicians and characterize the vote as "a personal affair between each of you and myself." On the other hand, many experts agree that this undisguised bid for a personal vote of confidence, above party alignment and special interest groups, brought a large response from the electorate.

"This suppression of the middleman is a new development in politics," according to the Catholic novelist François Mauriac, a staunch Gaullist whose weekly diary on the back page of the anti-Gaullist *L'Express* often contains keen political analysis. Mauriac goes on to predict that the middlemen—including both the politicians and some of the leftist pundits—will play a constantly diminishing role in French public life, while direct contact between the president and the masses will become increasingly important. The kingly personality of de Gaulle, like the great monarchs of ancient France, seems to thrive on such contact.

The same idea was developed by the daily *Combat* in a recent article which foresees the disappearance of the party system in France in its present form, as the use of what the

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newspaper calls the referendum-plebiscite develops. "A dialogue will be established directly between the chief of state and the citizens," *Combat* predicts. "Political parties and leaders have no place in this system. This new method of government, which is likely to become common, recalls the methods practiced by the two Napoleonic empires. Under existing conditions in France, however, the referendum-plebiscite has undeniable advantages, providing it does not degenerate into demagoguery or dictatorship." *Combat* thinks the only chance for French parties is to abandon the pretense of representing the people as a whole and play an educational and mediating role in politics like that of the labor unions, which seem to have exercised some influence in the referendum campaign.

It has been reliably reported for some time that de Gaulle wants to stress the presidential role in the development of the Fifth Republic while simultaneously giving its social and economic policies a strong leftward trend—in keeping with the early doctrine of the old Gaullist political group, the Rally of the French People. Until now he has been hesitating lest he be suspected of turning away from democracy.

But in an official communiqué summarizing the deliberations of the recent council of ministers, said to have been written by de Gaulle himself, there is a strong hint that the use of the referendum may be systematized. "The president noted that the referendum, already familiar in the constitutional field, has been utilized for the first time in regard to a problem of legislative type," the communiqué said. "He referred to the essential role that this sort of national consultation, the most democratic of all, could play in certain cases that involve the basic destiny of the country."

In his TV address de Gaulle explicitly stressed the choice before the electorate as a test of French national unity, and he is said to consider the outcome of the referendum an affirmation of national self-confidence as well as an expression of confidence in his leadership. "Why should France thank France?" de Gaulle is reported to have answered one of his ministers who had asked him if he was planning a new TV speech to thank the nation. The anecdote may be apocryphal, but it probably reflects both de Gaulle's private concept of the relationship between himself and the country and the spirit in which millions of French citizens responded to his appeal.

Against him there was an improbable assemblage of different and frequently irreconcilable factors. Besides the Communists and the dissident Socialist group of Mendès-France, there were the quasi-activist followers of Jacques Soustelle, along with the Poujadists and the lunatic fringe of the extreme Right, the bulk of former Premier Antoine Pinay's Independents—representing the rural hegemony of the notary, the big cattle dealer, and the small industrialist—the provincial Radicals of former Premier Maurice Bourgès-Maunoury, and the more cosmopolitan Radicalism of former Premier Félix Gaillard. Nearly all of the lobbies and vested-interest groups in the country before whom generations of French politicians have groveled threw themselves into the fight against de Gaulle, for reasons that rarely had anything to do with Algeria. They included the chronically discontented winegrowers of the south; the unofficial but powerful lobby of shady hotel proprietors, incensed by new governmental measures to curb prostitution; the still more powerful bistro lobby, infuriated by recent decrees to combat alcoholism; the licensed home distillers, for the same reason; the Corsicans, outraged by the suppression of special fiscal privileges; and last but by no means least, the once influential mandarinate of left-wing intellectuals, ranging from the Mendésist romantics to Jean-Paul Sartre.

De Gaulle's victory has weakened the Left, while to an even greater degree it has lessened the threat of a rightist or military coup that has been hanging over the country for the last few months, and it has made much more difficult the systematic right-wing sabotage of his Algerian policy.

Toward Negotiations

In Algeria itself, the voting showed that the French Army still has the Moslem rural masses well in hand; but in the cities where the educated Moslem elites live, the success of the F.L.N. campaign to boycott the referendum came as a shock to the French. The continuing political agitation among the urban Moslems since the referendum has underscored what one high French official is said to have termed the "growing ascendancy" of the F.L.N.

Yet even in the cities, the F.L.N.'s grip on the Moslem masses is still far from complete. Two other nationalist factions compete with it: the rapidly growing Algerian Communist Party and the Algerian National Movement (M.N.A.) of the veteran nationalist leader Messali Hadj, whose followers, while theoretically more moderate, are inclined to outdo the F.L.N. in fomenting disorder. What the French mainly pin their hopes on in Algeria is the mass of unorganized and so-called "moderate" nationalist sentiment. The dream of those nationalists who are least hostile to France is prob-

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ably best expressed by the homemade banners that appeared in December showing General de Gaulle and Ferhat Abbas clasping hands. De Gaulle knows that this deep and widespread Moslem sentiment for peace and reconciliation gives him the last chance for the peace he wants in Algeria.

Accordingly, it is reported that de Gaulle's strategy for achieving a satisfactory settlement in Algeria is now based largely on an eventual direct encounter with Ferhat Abbas. The feasibility of the meeting would first be explored through secret and unofficial soundings—which are probably under way—and then by more formal but still secret talks with personal representatives of Abbas.

Until recently, the Algerian Communist Party played a negligible role. Some observers still question its importance but army sources in Algeria claim that in the last few weeks it has emerged as one of the main instigators of disorder and is trying to capture the leadership of the nationalist movement from the F.L.N. Partial corroboration of this view is supplied by a recent clandestine leaflet of the party calling for an all-out campaign of sabotage and terrorism, especially in the cities. Feigning ignorance of contrary instructions from F.L.N. chiefs to avoid major disturbances at this time, the Communist tract declares: "For this decisive battle we should not only give our support to the F.L.N. but we should serve as an inspiration and spur to it while maintaining our underground identity."

The official French position remains unchanged: no political negotiations until after a cease-fire, and then only to discuss the organization of the self-determination referendum at a round table of all the Algerian factions. In all likelihood, however, de Gaulle would accept a fairly casual truce in lieu of the cease-fire and agree to at least marginal discussion of fundamental political problems directly with the F.L.N., if there were a reasonable chance that such discussions might eventually lead to agreement. He would also consent, if necessary, to a delay in the establishment of the proposed Algerian assembly and executive until they could be set up in agreement with the F.L.N.—especially since the French are having serious difficulty in finding any representative Moslems who would agree to serve on them under any other conditions.

Against negotiation between de Gaulle and Ferhat Abbas stand the

extremists of anti-colonialism in Africa. Strong elements in the F.L.N., urged on by the Soviets, the Chinese, and the Casablanca league of revolutionary African nationalisms—Egyptian, Moroccan, Malian, Ghanaian, and Guinean—will undoubtedly try to block any agreement with France. Instead, they may attempt to fan the agitation among the politically minded Moslem urban masses in Algeria into new outbursts of violence. The danger is heightened by the tendency of dissident and previously unorganized nationalist groups to prove that they can be more militant than the F.L.N. itself, and above all by the tension of hate and fear between the Moslems and the shell-shocked, demoralized European community—the aftermath of the gruesome race riots in December.

De Gaulle fully realizes the threat to his hope of a peaceful settlement. "It is essential that the necessary evolution take place without our arms suffering any defeat," he wrote General Crepin, the commander-in-chief in Algeria, to congratulate him for the discipline with which the army carried out his orders during the referendum. "On the contrary, they must maintain public order in every region of Algeria." He is prepared to negotiate with the F.L.N., but he knows that it is impossible to negotiate with chaos.

The F.L.N. leaders too may dread chaos, at least to judge from the rather vague communiqué they issued in Tunis on January 15 on the resumption of talks with the French.

From the French viewpoint, the crucial issue is that of post-independence guaranties for both the European community and the pro-French Moslem minorities in Algeria, together with safeguards for the transportation of Saharan oil to the sea. If they do not reach agreement with the F.L.N., the French will try to obtain these guaranties by partitioning the territory. If the Moslem nationalists do not want partition, they can have an undivided and independent Algerian republic, along with continued French economic aid and a generous share in the exploitation of the Sahara's resources. The leaders of the F.L.N. will have to decide which solution they prefer.

The Businesslike Mr. Hoffa

WILLIAM L. RIVERS

It is no accident that James R. Hoffa uses the phrase "the labor business" in talking about his vast International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America. The union has long been a big investor: a million-dollar loan to the Fruehauf Trailer Company, a 2,800-acre real-estate development in Florida, even a $200,000 loan to a company involved in a labor dispute with another union. But until the little town of Deming, down in the Yucca country of southwestern New Mexico, was picked as site for a rubber company transplanted from Indiana, no one realized just how businesslike the International Brotherhood of Teamsters can be.

Deming was participating in an industrial development scheme, adopted several years ago by the New Mexico legislature, which allows municipalities to issue bonds for the purpose of purchasing the assets of companies willing to settle in New Mexico. The city leases the assets back to the company, and the lease payments amortize the principal and interest on the bonds. In

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theory, everybody prospers. The company—which can usually buy its assets back at a nominal price after the bonds are paid off—saves capital investment and is exempt from property taxes while the city owns the assets. The city gets new industry and takes little risk, since the bonds are backed by the company's operating revenues. The bond buyers take a chance, but they get high interest rates and the interest is tax-free because the bonds are municipals.

In 1959, when the Auburn Rubber Company left Indiana for Deming under this scheme, the United Rubber Workers, who had organized the plant in Indiana, also sent representatives to New Mexico. Checking wage scales, they found no one making more than $1.37 an hour, and many workers making exactly $1 an hour, the Federal minimum wage. They had little insurance protection, no job security, and no pension plan.

In contrast to this pinchpenny wage policy, the financing for the plant was quite generous. Whereas most municipal bonds yield about 3.5 per cent, Deming's nearly $3 million Class A bonds, secured by a first mortgage, pay 6.25 per cent. The $1.5 million of Class B bonds, which are not secured, pay nine per cent.

During the spring of 1960, the URW organizers asked company employees to sign cards authorizing their union to represent them. By late June, a majority of the workers had signed, and the URW petitioned the National Labor Relations Board for an election to certify the union as collective-bargaining agent. Success seemed assured.

The Teamster Spirit

Then one day, Tony Rodriguez and Howard Sharp, the URW organizers in Deming, went to the company office to confer with an NLRB examiner. To their surprise, they found two Teamster officials—Gene San Soucie, president of the Indiana Conference of Teamsters, and George Harper, a personal aide to Jimmy Hoffa, also present with the examiner. In the discussion that followed, the reason for such high-level intervention was not entirely clear. The Auburn Rubber Company with its four hundred employees is small pickings for an organization like the Teamsters, whose membership is more than a million and a half.

Rodriguez asked for a private talk with the two Teamsters. According to his account, as soon as they were outside the office he told San Soucie and Harper they could organize the over-the-road drivers for the plant if that was the problem. San Soucie said that was not the problem. The trouble was, he admitted after some hesitation, the Teamsters had a $3-million stake in the success of Auburn Rubber Company. They had bought Deming's Class A bonds. The Teamsters would agree to a quick election only if the Rubber Workers would guarantee no improvement in wages and working conditions. "The

day we agree to those conditions is the day we get out of the labor movement." Rodriguez says he replied. The Teamsters Union then set out to organize the company's workers.

In what was entitled an "Open Message to All Townspeople and Employees," the Teamsters Union asserted that the URW had been responsible for the failure of the company when it was in Indiana and warned of the dangers of rampant unionism: ". . . we take credit for having saved those jobs for you. It is our opinion that if we had not intervened with the National Labor Relations Board, and delayed the action for bargaining rights . . . until we can have the time and opportunity to explain the true facts, that within six months the Rubber Workers Union would have forced the company to close its doors by work stoppages, slowdowns, or a strike. You people would have all been without jobs and paychecks, and with such a bad labor record Deming would not be able ever to secure any other factory. This would mean no more industrial employment in Deming."

The "Open Message" was attacked by the URW. In replying to its charges the Teamsters Union stated: "We are for the employees of the Auburn Rubber Company, the Auburn Rubber Company, and the community of Deming. If that is being a company union—fine." At the same time, it argued: "When a small union such as the Rubber Workers charges the Teamsters Union, the largest union in the world, with being a 'Company Union' it's too ridiculous to even discuss." After more muscle flexing, it went on to say that the URW has "no union local in New Mexico" and is a "small, weak union that doesn't want the companies they deal with coming out here to New Mexico, where their union can't compete with large, strong, good unions such as ours."

THE ELECTION, held in August, ended in a tie: 114 for the Rubber Workers, 114 for the Teamsters —and 35 against both unions. A new election was scheduled for September 9. Seven days before, the Deming city council called a special meeting at the request of James Glatt of Chicago, whose brokerage company had handled the sale of the bonds to the Teamsters. In a two-hour session, Glatt sketched a stark picture of what would happen if the Rubber Workers won: the company would fail. Glatt treated it as a foregone conclusion and asked that the council approve a plan for settling Deming's obligation to the bondholders. He had the whole procedure worked out: the assets would be merged with another company and moved to another location. The Auburn Rubber Company of New Mexico would be dissolved. Deming would lose its biggest payroll.

That settled it: the Teamsters Union got the whole town's support. In the deciding election, the Teamsters won by nearly two to one. The Rubber Workers came out with 88 votes and a moral: never get into organizing fights when you can't tell labor from management.

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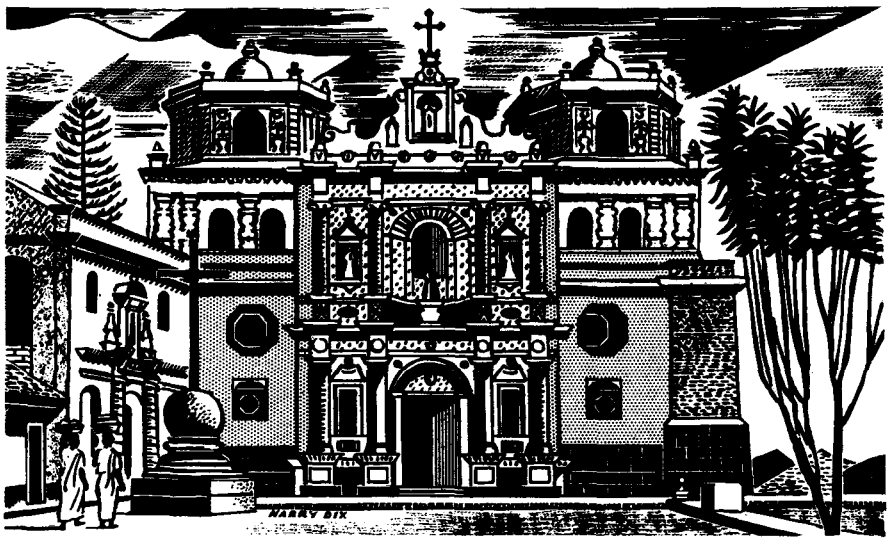

A Brazilian Defines Our Choice in Latin America

LUIS ALBERTO BAHIA

RIO DE JANEIRO

THE TIME is coming, and coming fast, when a new covenant will have to be drawn up and put into effect between Washington and the Latin-American nations of this hemisphere. It cannot be assumed that the diplomatic and military relations between the richest country in the world and its South American neighbors will remain what they have been. Industrialization and agrarian reforms are radically transforming both the internal structure of the Latin-American countries and the inter-American system.

The United States is faced with a choice: either to ally itself with politically unstable régimes that faithfully follow Washington's lead in foreign affairs or to choose politically stable governments that refuse to be taken for granted as semi-autonomous colonies.

To be sure, all the nations of Latin America have full title to national sovereignty. But in a number of them political power is still in the hands of oligarchies supported by foreign interests. The fact that sovereignty is frequently only formal has contributed to the high degree of instability in many Latin-American countries as well as to the crisis that now faces the whole inter-American system. It is also responsible for the poverty and economic backwardness of countries long associated with the wealthiest nation on earth. The foundations of this association are going to be changed, for the Latin Americans are determined to be truly independent—particularly of Washington.

Compromise at San José

All this became apparent at the San José Conference of Foreign Ministers last August. A long past met the prospects and the threat of the future there. The past, symbolized by the Trujillo dictatorship, threatened the security of the newly founded democratic governments in such countries as Venezuela; the future was projected in its most violent form by Cuba. The Cuban revolution emphasizes the urgency of readjusting relations between Latin America and the United States.

Two traditions have determined the behavior of the countries of the hemisphere toward dictatorships. One, which has its origin in the Latin-American fear that Washington might revert to armed intervention, has led to the principle of "non-intervention." This is a neutral position, indifferent to the nature of any particular régime or to any yearning for representative democracy. It has frequently worked to the advantage of dictatorships that have found encouragement and support in Washington, particularly when they have been obedient to U.S. diplomatic leadership in foreign affairs.

The other tradition, liberal in character, has sought to reconcile the principle of non-intervention with the desire to create or strengthen authentic democratic régimes.

In the case of the Trujillo dictatorship, the San José Conference followed the principle of non-intervention. It rejected a proposal to set up an inter-American commission to aid in the preparation of free elections in the Dominican Republic; instead, it approved innocuous sanctions.

WASHINGTON, alarmed by the Cuban revolution, has proposed a "Doctrine of Collective Responsibility," which seeks to make the Organization of American States an effective instrument of collective action. The American republics are asked to assume collective responsibility for anything that threatens the common welfare and the representative democracy of any of its members, thus providing Washington with an escape from two unpalatable alternatives: non-intervention or unilateral intervention. The State Department thus seeks to arm itself against future situations even more serious than the Cuban one.

The final declaration made by the Latin-American foreign ministers at San José represented a compromise. Homage was paid to the principle of non-intervention: "No American state may intervene for the purpose of imposing upon another American state its ideology or political, economic, or social principles." Cuba was condemned in a general way, and so was Sino-Soviet infiltration of the Western Hemisphere. The declaration gave its approval to collective sanctions, including the military ones already outlined in the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, as well as to the Doctrine of Collective Responsibility, although without the precision so devoutly desired by Washington. Just how collective responsibility will work is to be decided

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by each government that signed the declaration.

Latin-American suspicions about possible consequences of the Doctrine of Collective Responsibility were confirmed more rapidly than had been expected. Without consulting any Latin-American government, the State Department proceeded to apply sanctions against the Castro régime. President Eisenhower himself said that the United States would like the OAS to bring its "moral and political influence" to bear on the Cuban situation, and he added that if there were no collective action, the United States reserved its right to protect its interests unilaterally.

The Latin-American republics cannot agree to abandon the principle of non-intervention—not only because it is rooted in the region but also because they fear being dragged into a kind of regional cold war. They are more afraid of the commitments the United States has assumed all around the world than of Soviet interference in the affairs of their own continent. They do not feel bound to support NATO, the Baghdad Pact, or SEATO, since they were not consulted when such power blocs were set up.

It Begins at Home

The Latin Americans who are most devoted to democratic principles are convinced that Pan-Americanism must find its strength in the betterment of the people's lot throughout the hemisphere. Brazil's proposal for "Operation Pan-America" is typical of current Latin-American thinking: it supports non-intervention but at the same time it advocates a prudent and practical application of a system of multilateral action that will not infringe upon the sovereignty of any Latin-American government; it rejects any attempt to impose democracy by force but calls for multilateral sanctions in clearly defined cases of violation of political and human rights.

The Brazilian thesis holds that the contradictions of Pan-Americanism will never be solved by legal devices and that the Cuban phenomenon cannot be solved by purely political formulas.

The best hope for Latin-American democracy, according to this line of thinking, lies in a collective effort, planned and worked out with the assistance of the United States. In twenty years, this plan would aim to provide the hemisphere with a per capita income sufficient to bring about self-sustaining economies.

AT THE Bogotá conference last September, the U.S. Department of State presented a new program for Latin America, apparently inspired by the Cuban debacle. The program would seem to aim at a short-term improvement of social conditions. It recommended the creation of an inter-American fund for social development, to be administered by the Inter-American Bank. Brazil approached the problem from a different angle and asked that its own Operation Pan-America policy for long-term economic development be approved.

The debate was fairly sharp, but it seems altogether possible that both the United States and Brazil were right. For the first time, the problem of economic development was faced without forgetting to answer the basic question: development for whom? For the few or for the many?

The Brazilians still insist that at Bogotá the United States did not commit itself to long-term economic development. The act merely expresses a conviction that such development is imperative. It does not bind the United States to any additional financial assistance, public or private, to loans on flexible terms, or to the development of projects and plans for development. Yet on the question of agrarian reform, it represents one important concession by the United States: it will consider the "advisability, in special cases, of extending foreign financing for the coverage of local expenditures."

Latin Americans are still suspicious that Washington is motivated either by the most general philanthropic impulses or by political necessity: U.S. loans usually follow in the wake of the setbacks suffered by U.S. diplomacy. On this premise, it becomes obvious that Castro is rendering a service to Latin America.

The fact that Washington, however timidly, favors agrarian reform will affect the political structure of many Latin-American countries. A number of economists in Latin America whose interests lie mainly in industrial development refuse to see the importance of the new U.S. position. But more farsighted people, in Brazil and elsewhere, look askance at those economists who are obsessed by industrialization first and foremost. For there is no by-passing the need for agrarian reform. With U.S. assistance, a start might be possible. It might result in broadening the consumer market in each country, which would then make a common Latin-American market imperative.

By financing agrarian reform and urging Latin-American governments to undertake it, the United States will endear itself to the Latin-American masses, although it will naturally face the opposition of powerful vested interests. But instead of obedient, politically unstable dependents, the United States might gain some independent allies such as it already has in Canada.

The position of Janio Quadros, Brazil's newly elected president, is representative of a new generation of Latin-American politicians. These men are faithful to the regional system but firmly maintain their right to be independent in foreign affairs. With Quadros as president, Brazil will no longer follow undeviatingly the U.S. line in the United Nations, although its vote will be cast only after consultation and negotiation. This does not imply what has been branded in another connection as "positive neutralism." Brazil will not be a neutral in that sense, but its vote cannot be simply taken for granted by the United States.

Brazil thus typifies the new Latin-America now being born, allied to the United States but also independent. The continent is on the march. The United States must not remain allied with the archaic power system that is at long last dying in the Latin-American countries.

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Chinese Footprints in Somalia

ROBERT COUNTS

MOGADISCIO

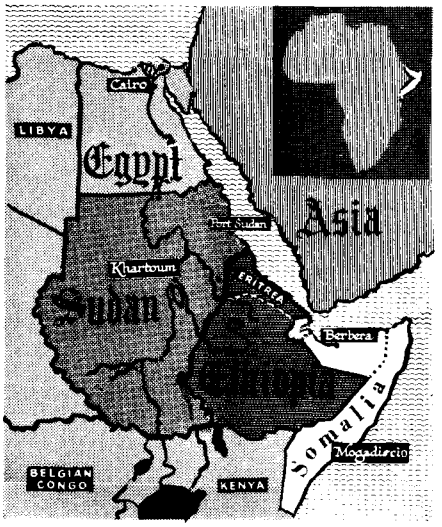
SO MANY new nations have achieved independence in Africa during the past year that it has been difficult to keep track of them. But the birth of the Republic of Somalia last July was certainly not overlooked by the leaders of Communist China. A look at the map helps to explain why.

The new republic is made up of Somalia, the former Italian colony which was occupied by the British in 1941 and became a U.N. trust territory administered by Italy in 1950, and British Somaliland, which the United Kingdom gave up voluntarily shortly before the flag of independence was raised last summer. It juts out into the Arabian Sea, a parched triangular peninsula adjacent to Ethiopia, with the Indian Ocean on one side and the Gulf of Aden on the other. Just north of the former British section of the new republic lies minuscule French Somaliland, a trade crossroads of the world that controls the entrance to the Red Sea. The only railroad in the area connects Addis Ababa with the coast at Djibouti, the capital of French Somaliland, which voted to remain an overseas territory of France in the referendum of 1958.

The first evidence of Communist China's special interest in Somalia—the name now defines both parts of the new republic—was detected as a result of an airplane crash. On September 27, 1960, an Egyptian plane en route from Geneva to Rome fell into the sea off the shore of Elba. Fragments of the wreckage and a few life jackets that washed up on the beach were the only traces of the airliner and its thirty passengers. Among those passengers were three French Somalis, including the leader of the National Pan-Somali Movement, Mohamud Harbi Farah.

A native of Djibouti, Harbi entered politics in 1947 at the age of thirty-nine by founding the Somali Youth Movement, which became the nucleus of the Somali Democratic Party, dedicated to the battle for independence from France. In the succeeding years, Harbi's influence continued to grow until he was driven into exile in 1958. The French authorities sentenced him *in absentia,* and with this invaluable political asset he established new headquarters in Mogadiscio, the capital of Somalia.

By the beginning of 1960, Harbi had formed the National Pan-Somali Movement. As its spokesman, he traveled widely. Shortly after attending the April Afro-Asian Conference at Conakry, he was invited to Peking, where he was welcomed with a warm show of friendship.



Money in Switzerland

What Harbi's trip to China accomplished was revealed to the Mogadiscio authorities through a row between two French Somalis at the city airport a few days after Harbi's death in the crash off Elba. The argument led to blows, and Ali Abdullahi, the victim of the attack, rushed to the police to denounce his assailant, who was trying to prevent him from boarding a plane. Both men were close associates of Harbi, and in the course of investigation it was discovered that Harbi had received a large sum of money from Communist China, which had been deposited in a Swiss bank. When Ali Abdullahi, who had accompanied Harbi to Peking, learned that his chief was dead, he headed for the bank. But just as he was about to board the plane for Switzerland, he had been assaulted by a representative of Harbi's family and of Harbi's second-in-command, Ahmed Goumane. Abdullahi was already under suspicion among his confederates: he had been accused by Harbi of misappropriating £30,000 of party money.

No one knows how much money was in the Chinese fund but reliable sources put the amount as high as £1,500,000 ($4,200,000, almost one-third of the annual income of the new Somali Republic). With part of the money, Harbi had arranged for a shipload of arms to land in Berbera, the only port on the northern Somalia coast, at the beginning of October.

A ship did in fact dock at Berbera on October 1. It was a Saudi Arabian vessel, the *Rastanura,* manned by an Egyptian skipper, an Italian engineer, and a mixed crew of Arabs. The manifest showed a cargo of cement. For four days the *Rastanura* sat in port without unloading, and then at dawn on October 5 she suddenly steamed out of the harbor and was gone for seventeen hours, returning to Berbera at 11 P.M. The vessel was searched immediately by the port authorities, who had been alerted by Mogadiscio. No arms were found, only cement. The search, however, revealed two empty secret compartments. On the basis of this discovery and the *Rastanura's* unauthorized disappearance for seventeen hours, the ship was ordered held and proceedings were brought against the captain.

The trial took place on October 23. The captain, who was defended by the United Arab Republic's consul general in Mogadiscio, was found guilty of violating two customs ordinances and fined 42,000 somali ($6,000). There was a brief flurry of public interest in the trial because the Egyptian skipper was the first foreigner to appear in court since the country became independent. But the interest subsided quickly because the larger implications were known only to the handful of Somali officials directly involved.

MORE RECENTLY, five boxes of arms have been discovered at different points along the shore north of

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Berbera. They are all standard-size wooden munitions cases with steel partitions, containing 1952 model anti-tank grenades manufactured in Great Britain. From the date, it is assumed that the grenades were part of the supplies left by the British at Suez. It is also believed, from their waterlogged condition, that the boxes had been dumped into the sea and washed up at random. So far, there is no trace of the 1,500 rifles and other small arms believed to have been part of the original consignment.

There is not much doubt about Harbi's link with the *Rastanura*. The cement was purchased in the name of the ship's agent, one of the French Somalis who died in the crash. Harbi himself was scheduled to arrive in Berbera on September 30, the day before the ship docked. It seems probable that the captain hung around for a few days, vainly waiting for instructions. When no one showed up, he weighed anchor and spent his unauthorized seventeen hours away from port getting rid of his cargo.

The Somali army and police have sealed off the coast between Berbera and the French Somaliland frontier, and are still conducting an intensive search for arms. But the whereabouts of the rest of the weapons is relatively unimportant compared with the exposure of Communist China's interest in the Somali Republic.

Plenty of Fires to Fan

Somalia is ideal for exploitation by the Communists. It is a trouble spot not only because of the sensitive pride of the Somali people but because of its ethnic problems. In addition to the more than two million Somalis in the new republic, another 630,000 live in northern Kenya, French Somaliland, and Ethiopia.

The location of Somalia gives the Peking government a unique opportunity to harass three key western powers—the British through Kenya, the French through French Somaliland, and the United States via Ethiopia, which has been receiving substantial U.S. military aid. Harbi's primary interest in overthrowing French rule in his native land made him the logical leader of an insurrection in French Somaliland. And there is a long history of misery and unrest along the Ethiopia-Somalia border, periodically punctuated by raids and reprisals, especially in the northern area where some fifty thousand Somalis of the fiercely independent Esa tribe live.

There have been a series of border incidents since summer, beginning with armed Ethiopian intervention in a tribal war between the Esas and the more primitive Danakils, who inhabit the desolate region southwest of Djibouti. A few Ethiopian soldiers were killed and later were avenged by a massacre of more than a hundred Esas, including women and children. Possibly inspired by

Harbi, the Esas responded with an attack on the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railroad early in August. A train was derailed and plundered. Several passengers were injured, and the French consul from Harar and two Ethiopian guards were killed. In reprisal, the Ethiopians wiped out all 250 inhabitants of the village of Aisha. Other wounded Esas drifted across the border into Somalia, where it is believed they were sought out by Ahmed Goumane, Harbi's associate. Goumane is said to have stiffened their resistance with a promise of arms from China. While the missing rifles are the normal weapons of guerrilla warfare, the recovered anti-tank grenades seem to point to another potential attack on the railroad, which is Haile Selassie's lifeline.

Communist China shows every indication of attempting to exploit the two goals any government of this new republic must aim at in order to survive. The first is ethnic unity and the second is recognition of cultural and religious ties to Islam.

The first goal is symbolized by the new sky-blue flag of the Pan-Somali Movement, its single five-pointed star indicating the five Somali-inhabited territories—northern Kenya, French Somaliland, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and the Republic of Somalia. With only about fifteen per cent of the republic's 262,000 square miles arable (and not all of that under cultivation), the already overburdened agricultural economy of the former Italian trusteeship area is staggering under the responsibilities imposed by union with the former British protectorate. The new nation certainly doesn't need vast new tracts of impoverished land. Nevertheless, Prime Minister Abdirascid Ali Scermarche has committed his moderate government to "promote peacefully the union of all the Somali territories by legal and peaceful means." Consequently, Harbi was accorded a lengthy patriotic eulogy in the government press while Somali officials have been obliged to maintain a discreet silence about the naked foreign intervention disclosed by the Harbi affair. Their disapproval of the methods employed—hardly commensurate with "peaceful means"—was shown by their prosecution of the Egyptian captain at the risk of offending a powerful friendly neighbor.

Somalis both within and beyond the borders, seventy per cent of whom are nomads, orient themselves not by the stars but by Mecca. This is why the second important political leader to enjoy Peking's hospitality recently was Hagi Mohamed Hussen, president of the Great Somalia League. The G.S.L., fanatically pro-Islam and violently anti-western on all counts, is the biggest and most significant party in opposition to the

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present government, and its propaganda reflects an increasing adherence to the Communist line. At the end of November, a G.S.L. congress broke up when Hussen, the party's president, and Vice-President Banafunzi read each other out of the party.

It is rumored that the rift occurred over accusations that Hussen was selling out Islam to Peking. However, leaflets printed in Arabic (there is no written Somali language at present) and distributed with the breakfast grapefruit in the dining room of Mogadiscio's new Hotel Giuba next day attributed the trouble to the machinations of "American imperialists."

AT THE MOMENT, the government is doing its best to follow a policy of "positive neutrality," reliance on the U.N., and nonalignment with either the West or the East. Its efforts to build a sound economy against the odds of relentless nature are almost entirely dependent on governmental foreign aid and private foreign-capital investments. The only miracle that could save the economy without this would be the discovery of oil. After fruitless tries by U.S. and Italian oilmen for the past five years, traces of oil are said to have been found near the port of Merca, not far from Mogadiscio. This location would make the construction of wells profitable—always provided that more than one vein could be tapped.

The Soviet Union, Poland, Albania, Sweden, Ghana, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Bulgaria are all in the process of establishing embassies in Mogadiscio. The present diplomatic corps includes the United States, Great Britain, Italy, France, West Germany, and, more recently, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, and the United Arab Republic. In its efforts to steal the initiative in Africa from the Soviets, Communist China has not only played host to parties of students and individual pilgrims but has already made a major capital investment in Somalia. It is just a matter of time before a Chinese embassy, with its inevitable train of technical experts and propaganda and a corps of Chinese Moslem teachers, will be carrying the torch to the bush.

The Grapes of Wrath, Vintage 1961

ARNOLD MAYER

WASHINGTON

AT ELEVEN O'CLOCK on the hot August night that proved to be the last of the Eighty-sixth Congress, Arizona's eighty-three-year-old Carl Hayden was on the Senate floor pleading for a six-month extension of the Mexican farm-labor importation law.

The Hayden speech marked the first defeat ever experienced by the grower organizations of this country on a farm-labor issue. Up to then, the growers' Congressional supporters had been able to extend this nine-year-old law for two years at a time.

Now that the Eighty-seventh Congress has convened, we can expect the battle over the program incorporated in Public Law 78 to resume, with church, labor, small-farm, and civic groups—who believe that P.L. 78 is an abomination—pitted against

the grower organizations—who believe it provides a necessary source of labor.

The fight promises to be bitter. Both sides recognize that in this battle lies the key to whether America's 2,300,000 farm workers—probably the most poverty-stricken, depressed, and exploited group in our country—can get the kind of protection from which other Americans have long benefited.

Under P.L. 78, a total of 437,600 Mexican farm workers, known as braceros, were imported for seasonal work in 1959, mostly by growers of cotton, vegetables, fruits, and sugar beets. These growers represent less than two per cent of America's farmers and are chiefly concentrated in California, Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Arkansas. But their farms, mainly large-scale operations, provide a disproportionate source of agricultural employment in the United States.

The huge influx of braceros has made it possible for these growers to keep wages down. (American farm workers earned an average of only $829 and got an average of only 138 days of work in 1959.) If domestic farm workers refuse the wage rate offered, the grower need not raise it. He tells the Federal government that he is unable to get workers (true, at his wage scale), and he then gets a group of braceros.

The effect on farm-labor income has been disastrous. Wages for field labor in most of Texas have stayed at the same level for nearly a decade —about fifty cents an hour. Wages for cotton harvesting—cotton is the chief crop on which braceros are used—have even dropped in recent years, and cotton chopping pays as low as thirty cents an hour in many areas of Arkansas.

'We Rent Our Slaves'

More than 60,000 farm workers migrate from their homes in Texas to harvest crops in other states at the same time some 180,000 braceros are imported to harvest the crops in Texas. The growers say Americans will not perform "stoop labor." But the same growers use tens of thousands of braceros in a number of skilled jobs.

The bracero also gets some benefits denied the domestic farm worker. He receives a minimum wage of fifty cents an hour, while many U.S. migrants work for as little as thirty cents an hour. The braceros are guaranteed employment for at least three-quarters of their contract period; they also get free transportation to the job and various housing advantages. The domestic farm workers, however, have none of these

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guarantees. Amendments to P.L. 78 to provide American agricultural labor with the same benefits and guarantees as the braceros have been defeated in the House at least twice.

If braceros get better conditions than domestic farm workers, why does the grower prefer them? There are several important reasons. First, the bracero importation creates a surplus of labor that keeps all farm-labor wages low. Then, the braceros come alone instead of with their families, so that the grower saves money on housing. Also, the extreme poverty of rural Mexico brings prime bracero labor willing to work at fifty cents an hour. And, finally, the bracero is far more docile than the American migrant. The threat of being sent back to Mexico is enough to bring him into line if he complains too much about conditions.

A recent report prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor puts the matter succinctly: "The foreign migrant is indentured to a particular farmer or farm association for the duration of his contract. One grower, speaking of the Mexican farm labor program, said that 'we used to own slaves, now we rent them from the government.'"

SOME MEXICAN farm labor has been used in the United States, legally or illegally, on an organized or unorganized basis, for decades. When in the late 1940's the illegal border crossings by the so-called wetbacks became an increasing problem, the growers saw an opportunity to get an organized government-sponsored labor-importation program, such as they had during the Second World War. Arguing that "controlled importation" was the answer to the wetback problem and that a shortage of farm labor existed because of the Korean War, the growers secured the enactment of P.L. 78 in 1951. The so-called "temporary program," which legalized the wetback migrations, was renewed in 1954, 1956, and 1958.

The period between the third renewal in 1958 and the fourth renewal attempt in 1960 was a time of increased government and public concern about farm workers. Information reaching Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell on the Mexican farm-labor program prompted an investigation. The investigation led to a shutdown of several bracero camps and improvements in others, and Mitchell began to take an increasing interest in farm-labor problems—more than any previous Secretary of Labor.

In 1959, he appointed four distinguished citizens to study P.L. 78 and its administration. Their unanimous report urged specific changes in the law. In essence, they recommended (1) real protection against the adverse effect on the employment

and wages of domestic farm workers caused by the importation of Mexicans; (2) a guarantee of at least the same benefits for domestic workers as for braceros; and (3) limitation of the bracero program to unskilled seasonal jobs on nonsurplus crops.

While the consultants were working on their report, Secretary Mitchell established regulations for the recruitment of domestic farm workers by the U.S. Employment Service. These regulations dealt with wages, housing, and transportation. Their net effect was to prevent the USES, a tax-financed public agency, from being used to undercut prevailing area wages and other conditions for migrants. Weak as they were, these regulations brought loud howls of "socialism" and "government interference" from the growers and their supporters in Congress.

In Dubious Battle

When the 1960 session of Congress opened, the growers struck the first blow. A number of Republican and Southern Democratic congressmen, including the chairman of the House Agriculture subcommittee, E. C. Gathings (D., Arkansas), introduced nearly identical bills to extend P.L. 78. Actually, the measures would have made conditions far worse for farm workers than they already are. As it turned out, this was a serious mistake on the growers' part: they overplayed their hand.

The groups hoping for improvements in P.L. 78 waited for the Labor Department to offer a reform bill on behalf of the Eisenhower administration. Their wait was in vain: the department's bill was shelved within the administration—thanks to the efforts of the defenders of corporation agriculture, led by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and White House Administrative Assistant Jack Z. Anderson, himself a California grower who has made use of braceros.

With the hearings of the House Agriculture subcommittee only a week away, those who opposed P.L. 78 seemed at a hopeless disadvantage. They had no plan of action, no organized effort, and no bill to support. But the extreme provisions of the growers' bills and the unexpected failure of the Labor Department to introduce any bill shocked them into action. George McGovern (D., South Dakota), a young and able member of the House Agriculture Committee, agreed to introduce a reform measure.

The McGovern bill incorporated the four consultants' recommendations, some verbatim. And it provided for a gradual ending of P.L. 78, as had been suggested in a resolution by the general board of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States.

It was an uphill fight. On occasions such as these the American Farm Bureau Federation, one of the most powerful lobbying groups in the capital, applies intense pressure. Industrialized agriculture joins with canners and processors to exert maximum influence on congressmen. By themselves, voteless farm workers are no match for such powerful forces, and this disparity is the major reason for the absence of protective legislation for agricultural labor.

But in the P.L. 78 fight of 1960 the growers, canners, and processors were opposed by a number of organizations that were working to give farm workers a better deal. They were religious groups, such as the National Council of the Churches of Christ and the National Catholic

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Welfare Conference. They were labor unions, led by the AFL-CIO and its Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. They were civic groups, such as the National Consumers League and Americans for Democratic Action. They were the small farmers, represented by the National Farmers Union. And they were the groups specifically and solely concerned with the plight of farm workers, such as the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor and the National Sharecroppers Fund.

Within Congress, the growers were in a good position. Some very important Southerners and Republicans were ready to lead their battle. Their control of the Agriculture Committees, where the legislation had to originate, seemed unshakable. And they counted on being able to invoke the tremendous power of the Republican-Southern Democratic coalition when the going got rough.

On the liberal side of Congress, P.L. 78 reform had to compete with far more potent political issues for the attention and concern of legislators. Although sympathetic to the exploited farm workers, many of the embattled liberal congressmen felt they had better concentrate on the mass of social legislation that, unlike P.L. 78, would immediately affect the voters of their districts.

During the seven-month fight in 1960, the Congressional supporters of both the growers and the reform groups had to change their strategy and their objectives. It soon became apparent to the legislators seeking reform that they did not have the strength to pass the McGovern bill. Therefore they concentrated on blocking the growers' bill, planning to resume the fight for reform in 1961, when they hoped a new administration would support them in the battle.

THE EISENHOWER administration's "position" on P.L. 78 was a study in ineffectualness. A bitter fight continued within the administration after Mitchell was stopped from supporting the introduction of a reform bill: the Labor Department wanted administration support for P.L. 78 reforms, the Agriculture Department wanted support for the growers' bills.

The House hearings on P.L. 78 brought a showdown. A compromise was reached between the departments—and it provided against any action. The administration urged that consideration of P.L. 78 legislation be postponed until 1961. Mitchell also agreed that he would not push for an agricultural minimum wage or any other farm-labor legislation in 1960.

As it turned out, the administration could not stand firm on P.L. 78. When the reform groups sought to keep the growers' bill in the House Rules Committee—a way of assuring no action in 1960—the administration either would not or could not do anything. During the debate in the House of Representatives the White House was silent. Only a letter from Secretary Mitchell restated the view of the

"administration and the Labor Department." But congressmen—especially the Republicans—knew that this was more the position of the Labor Department than of the administration. As a result, very few Republicans opposed the growers' renewal bill.

The growers' support in the two houses' Agriculture Committees was a huge stumbling block for the reform groups. Hearings were held before a House subcommittee strongly partisan to the growers' cause. Some subcommittee members competed with grower witnesses in lambasting "do-gooders" and "government bureaucrats."

Not surprisingly, the House Agriculture Committee approved the growers' bill, although three members—McGovern, Merwin Coad (D., Iowa), and Lester Johnson (D., Wisconsin)—submitted a devastating minority report.

"The moral implications of [the bill] are shocking," the three congressmen concluded. "It would literally increase the destitution, the underemployment, and the exploitation of 2,300,000 domestic farmworkers, who are the poorest of poor in our nation. It would put the family farm at a further competitive disadvantage. It would increase the stain Public Law 78 has already placed on our national values and prestige."

An Uneasy Truce

The Congressional supporters of reform were forced to fall back on delaying tactics. These, along with some fortuitous circumstances, held up action in the House of Representatives until nearly the end of the regular 1960 session. A bill providing for a two-year extension of P.L. 78 without any of the growers' changes was considered by the House in late June.

The reforms of the McGovern bill, offered by Representative John Fogarty (D., Rhode Island), were defeated by a 2-1 margin. Similarly trounced was an attempt by Representative Alfred Santangelo (D., New York) to deny braceros to cotton producers, the lowest-paying farmers and largest single users of foreign workers. The unamended two-year extension of P.L. 78 was finally passed by the House.

Then late in August, in the special session of Congress, the Senate Agriculture Committee suddenly and unexpectedly reported out a bill giving P.L. 78 a six-month extension, brushing aside the reform bill sponsored by Eugene McCarthy (D., Minnesota) and nine other senators. This happened after the growers' Senatorial supporters had summarily taken the House-passed bill from the subcommittee headed by Hubert Humphrey and, without hearings or previous announcements, brought it before the full Senate Agriculture Committee for consideration.

At this stage, the six-month bill was a possible trap. It seemed reasonable, but the liberals knew that Congressional procedures would give

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the growers ample opportunity to turn six months into two years again in the House-Senate conference committee. A bipartisan group decided to block the Agriculture Committee's bill with a Senate filibuster, if necessary, and made their intentions fully known. For all practical purposes, the bill seemed to be quite dead.

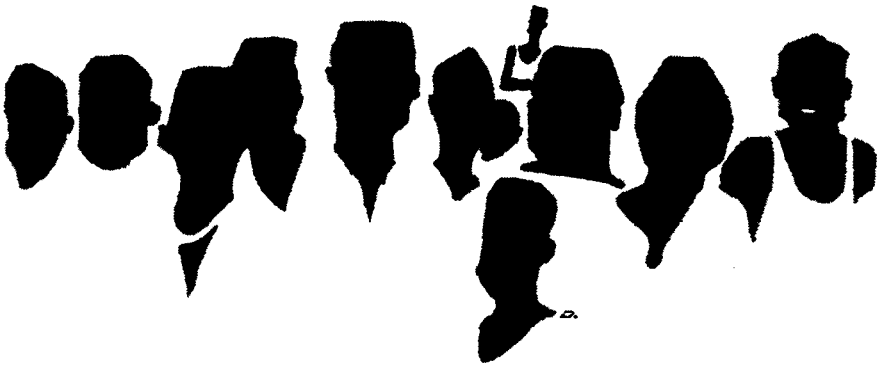
But strange things happen during the last days of a Congressional session. Senator Hayden's attempted face-saving action for the growers on the last evening was such an oddity. After a brief debate in which the reform forces showed that their surprise did not diminish their determination to block a two-year extension of P.L. 78, an agreement was reached. Senators Hayden and Allen Ellender of Louisiana, chairman of the Agriculture Committee, agreed that six months would be the limit of the extension. They further agreed that the abuses, reform, and extension of P.L. 78 would be considered in thorough hearings in 1961. In return, the liberals agreed not to block the six-month extension which carried P.L. 78 through the harvest season until December 31, 1961.

The maneuvering had ended in a definite if not complete victory for the anti-P.L. 78 forces. They had prevented the Farm Bureau from upsetting Secretary Mitchell's interstate recruitment regulations. They had prevented the growers from giving the Secretary of Agriculture joint administration over P.L. 78 with the Secretary of Labor. They had cut down the extension from two years to six months. But most important, they had shown that the growers' lobby was not invincible.

Obviously a bitter fight will take place over P.L. 78 legislation in 1961. As one Farm Bureau lobbyist has said, "We want one more extension. After that, mechanization may have made the bracero program unnecessary."

CAN A VICTORY be won for reform? A great deal depends upon the stand of the Kennedy administration. If it pushes the reforms, then their passage is likely. If it does not, then the reform groups will be faced with the same problems they had in 1960.

VIEWS & REVIEWS



'The Kingdom of Schweitzer'

MORTON PUNER

THE VISIT I made to Albert Schweitzer in Africa last summer was a business trip of sorts. In 1959, thirteen-year-old Robert Hill of Waycross, Georgia—the son of an Air Force sergeant stationed in Naples—had written a letter to his father's general requesting help in getting medicine to Dr. Schweitzer in Africa "in the cause of peace." The letter was read over Italian radio, the boy appeared on Italian television, and some $400,000 worth of medical supplies were contributed to the undertaking. French and Italian planes joined in a NATO airlift to Lambaréné with Bobby Hill aboard to deliver the supplies personally to Dr. Schweitzer. The affair was given a good deal of attention by the press in Italy and Africa as well as the United States. The fact that Bobby Hill is a Negro—poised and personable, the son of an airman in the integrated armed services—was certainly not concealed in any of the press releases that were handed out at the time.

The 1959 trip was so successful that Pentagon officials decided to try it again in 1960. Bobby and his father were summoned from their home in Naples to Washington. The boy was greeted by Air Force Chief of Staff Thomas D. White, given a Presidential citation at the White House, and put aboard a C-130 to deliver additional supplies and laboratory equipment to Dr. Schweitzer. The donors this time, "in the name of the American people," were the International Latex Corporation and the Medical International Cooperation Organization, better known as Dr. Tom Dooley's MEDICO. Since I had written one of the articles about the 1959 Bobby Hill airlift, I was invited to accompany this second mission.

No one had any illusions about the trip. It was an all-out public-relations effort on the part of the U.S. Air Force to project the best image of America. Word had gone out from the Pentagon to meet the Bobby Hill plane at each stop. Sergeant Hill was assigned to accompany his son to keep him combed, scrubbed, and pressed. At each base along the way, the commanding officer was on hand to be photographed shaking hands with Bobby underneath the inscription on the plane: "To Dr. Schweitzer and the People of Gabon—'With Love'—from Robert Hill, and the American People." (After the picture-taking sessions, Bobby and his father were usually packed off to the nearest non-com transient quarters to await their next call to duty.)

Evreux Air Base in France was our last stop before Africa. There we were joined for the trip south by a movie photographer, a still photographer, and a radio man flown in

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from Air Force headquarters in Wiesbaden, Germany; by a *Stars & Stripes* correspondent; and by a public-information officer—a lieutenant colonel—who had just arrived from the NATO base in Naples. With our cameras and our recorders, we made up a rather formidable publicity task force, and I was more than a little concerned about what Dr. Schweitzer would think of us.

THE C-130 landed at Libreville, the coastal capital of Gabon, and then we had to negotiate with some rather unco-operative Gabonese officials and businessmen—all white Frenchmen—for transportation inland to Lambaréné. I had expected to go on a movie-type safari, walking single file through the jungle with native bearers carrying the medical supplies on their heads. Instead, we rented a bus for the 150-mile trip over rutted jungle roads—a bus that was normally used to transport African laborers short distances to work, with narrow iron benches for seats. It took seven hours and three river crossings to reach our destination. The final leg was a canoe trip to the hospital on the Ogowe River.

There it was—the hospital grounds of Lambaréné, the clusters of the sick and tattered Africans, the families cooking over open-air stoves, the goats and dogs wandering through thatched huts and low hospital buildings made of petrified wood, the small band of dedicated whites living on the edge of the primeval forest, finally Albert Schweitzer himself—the physician, philosopher, musician, and theologian whom many revere as a kind of modern saint—striding forward to greet Bobby Hill.

"Hold it!" shouted our photographers. "Kiss the boy again, doctor. We missed it." The command was translated but Dr. Schweitzer did not obey it. "They should have caught it," he said. "I can't kiss the boy all day; I'm not a woman." What had Dr. Schweitzer said? What were his words of greeting to Bobby Hill? asked our non-French-speaking lieutenant-colonel, worrying about the lead for his next release. For publication, we decided later, Dr. Schweitzer had greeted Bobby with "How you've grown, my little friend!"

The doctor asked how long we could stay with him. Since the visit was limited to a few days, he decided to take care of the essentials right away. In his office, he asked those who wanted autographs to write down their names. We all did; the *Stars & Stripes* man wrote down the names of his wife and children as well, and also produced a Schweitzer book and the jacket of a Schweitzer recording of Bach to be autographed. The doctor checked the date with a calendar tacked to the wall above his desk. For each name, Dr. Schweitzer autographed a picture postcard of himself, individually inscribed with place, date, and the words *"Avec mes bonnes pensées."* The picture was a head-on shot of the doctor in pith helmet, clip-on bow tie, and

white jacket. It is less theatrical than the postcard picture he had given to Bobby Hill the year before. That one showed him in a pirogue on the Ogowe, profile silhouetted against the sky and river.

I asked the doctor to autograph a new paperback edition of his *Philosophy of Civilization*. He looked at the book affectionately and said, "Ah, the old cow is still giving milk." I was not sure whether he meant that, at eighty-six, he is still productive or that the book, completed thirty-eight years ago, is still yielding royalties.

Dr. Schweitzer's views on everything from Bach to nuclear weapons have been thoroughly covered in his own words and those of hundreds of writers, and the journalists were obviously hard pressed to find a fresh news peg during that first impromptu press conference. "Tell me, doctor," said the *Stars & Stripes* man, "in two sentences—how would you explain your philosophy of reverence for life?" The old man didn't wince. He gave about five minutes to the subject, discussing the spiritual evolution of animals, how one proof of ethics in animals is the fact that dogs are faithful even after their masters die, telling why even the life of a fly or mosquito is to be revered. (We had already seen the little window installed in Schweitzer's dining room to release flies and mosquitoes after they had been trapped in a glass.) The lieutenant-colonel—through Dr. Schweitzer's interpreter, Ali Silver, a Dutch nurse—tried another tack: "Then your philosophy is like"—he groped for a name—"Plato's?" This time the doctor grimaced but patiently explained that Plato had died more than 2,400 years ago and that the study of philosophy has advanced a great deal since.

The next question was more to his taste: "Assuming that a person reads and deeply believes in reverence for life, how can he act it out in his daily life?" Without a second's hesitation, Dr. Schweitzer came up, in four words, with a direct if somewhat sententious answer. Slapping the table, he said, "Don't swat the fly!"

One of the journalists had a clipping from the New York *Times* in which a recent visitor to Lambaréné had suggested that Dr. Schweitzer's successor would be Dr. Richard Friedmann, a survivor of Dachau and an Israeli who has been working with Dr. Schweitzer for the past four years. Was it true? The doctor fenced; he said that the matter was his affair only, that he would name his successor when the right time came, that he would retire only in heaven. "People ask me that question all the time," he said, terminating the interview. "I wish they would have a little reverence for *my* life."

IN THE EXCITEMENT of travel, we had overlooked the significance of the date we arrived at Lambaréné—the Fourth of July. Dr. Schweitzer

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What are they watching in

LONDON

(Ark., Ky., Ohio, Tex., W. Va.)

PARIS

(Ark., Idaho, Ill., Ky., Me., Md., Mich., Miss., Mo., Tenn., Tex., Va., Wis.)

ROME

(Ga., Ill., Ind., Iowa, Miss., Mo., N.Y., Pa.)

?

How *big* is it? (Not how famous its name.) The answer, a few years ago, decided whether your city would see or not see leaders in government, education, and journalism—or road companies, orchestras, or ball teams. Of course, it still makes a difference. But today there is far more community of experience than ever before between London, Texas (pop., less than 2,500) and London, England (pop., more than 8¼ million).

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In February

SOME PROGRAMS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

(Times indicated are Eastern Standard Time)

"Fidelio"
A repeat performance of Beethoven's only opera; Irene Jordan as Leonore, John Alexander as Floristan. In English.
Sunday, February 5 (3-5 PM)

"Ireland: The Tear and the Smile"
The literary and artistic side of the Emerald Isle. Guests include Siobhan McKenna and Sean O'Faolain.
Sunday, February 5 (6:30-7 PM)

"Story of the X-15"
A documentary study of America's hypersonic rocket plane.
Monday, February 6 (10:30-11 PM)

"Time Remembered"
Anouilh's romantic comedy, with Dame Edith Evans in her U.S. television debut, Christopher Plummer, and Janet Munro.
Tuesday, February 7 (7:30-9 PM)

"A String of Beads"
Somerset Maugham's story with Chester Morris, Glenda Farrell, and Jane Fonda.
Tuesday, February 7 (10-11 PM)

"The Single Woman"
A study of the problems facing the unmarried woman in today's society.
Thursday, February 9 (4-5 PM)

"Aaron Copland Music"
A concert for young people with Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic. Composer Aaron Copland is the special guest.
Sunday, February 12 (4-5 PM)

"Saga of the Triton"
The National Geographic Society's actuality film report of the three-month underwater circumnavigation of the globe by USS Triton, world's largest submarine.
Tuesday, February 14 (7-7:30 PM)

"Holding of the Panama Canal"
A study of our Latin-American relations.
Tuesday, February 14 (10-11 PM)

"A Louisiana Story"
Documentary report on the school desegregation situation in New Orleans.
Thursday, February 16 (10:30-11 PM)

"Minuteman!"
Documentary story of the land-based missile on wheels, which can be fired from any point in the United States.
Sunday, February 19 (6:30-7 PM)

"First Winter at South Pole"
Historic account of the U.S. IGY team that built and manned a station during six months of total darkness.
Tuesday, February 21 (7-7:30 PM)

"Leonard Bernstein and the New York Philharmonic"
Sunday, February 26 (4-5:30 PM)

REGULARLY SCHEDULED PROGRAMS

Sundays:	Meet the Professor
	Issues and Answers
	Roundup USA
	Meet the Press
	The Twentieth Century
	Winston Churchill—The Valiant Years
Tuesdays:	Expedition!
Thursdays:	Face the Nation/Reports
Fridays:	Eyewitness to History
Saturdays:	The Nation's Future
Mon-Fri:	Continental Classroom
	Road to Reality

NOTE: *Times, programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Consult local listings for times and programming details.*

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had not. He told his Swiss chef to prepare a more elaborate dinner than usual. Alsatian wine and beer were also served, really setting the occasion apart, the Schweitzer regulars told me. The doctor had noticed the smoking habits of our group and after the last course was served he said, "You may all smoke if you wish." This created a stir of surprise and delight and a quick fumbling for pipes and cigarettes among the Schweitzer regulars; one who has been at Lambaréné for two years told me that she had never before been permitted to smoke at the dinner table.

There were, all told, forty people eating at the two tables in the dining room, all of them European or American except for one Japanese doctor, a specialist in leprosy.

Among the Americans were two young doctors working in Lambaréné under the sponsorship of Dr. Paul Dudley White on a research project "designed to discover the frequency and different types of heart disease among Africans." (A preliminary finding: coronary attacks are virtually unknown among Africans in the area.) One of the two, Dr. David Miller of King City, California, had been asked to give a toast for the occasion. Dr. Miller spoke quietly; he said that the Fourth of July marks the anniversary of the signing of a remarkable document, a product of eighteenth-century rationalism and the brilliance of Thomas Jefferson. He quoted the words "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights . . ." If the speech had been delivered from a platform outside the town hall of Teaneck, New Jersey, it might have sounded trite. Here, late at night, in a crowded and hushed candlelit dining room in the heart of Africa, it seemed to most of us an inspired message of America's hope to the world. Then Dr. Miller paused and delivered a ringing toast: "To the abolition of all nuclear weapons!"

Dr. Schweitzer had been listening carefully. It was his turn to speak. His opposition to the use of nuclear weapons is as clear as that of any man's on earth, but looking across the table at five men in the uniform of the U.S. Air Force, he raised his glass and said simply: "To America—I shall never forget the help the people of the United States have given to my hospital."

WE LEFT the Schweitzer dinner close to midnight. The Schweitzer regulars accompanied us to the river, lanterns in hand, to see us off on the return trip to our hotel. We assumed that tropical night and slumber soon ended all activity at Lambaréné, but we learned later that the real Fourth of July party started after we left. Dr. Schweitzer has a forty-one-year-old daughter, Rhena Eckert of Mannedorf, Switzerland, who was staying in Africa for the season. An engaging, cultured woman and a mother of four, Mrs. Eckert participates in her father's work as a laboratory technician. She is not permitted to smoke by her father while at Lambaréné. ("He likes the scent of tobacco but gave it up as a New Year's resolution in 1900 and doesn't like me to smoke either," she told us.) But later that night she came across a tin of cigarettes in her room. She also had a bottle of Scotch, some cha-cha records, and a record player, and so she invited a few of the resident Americans and Europeans to continue the Fourth of July celebration after her father had gone to bed.

The fact that Albert Schweitzer has a daughter and four grandchildren often goes unnoticed. He gives astonishingly little space to his daughter and to his late wife in his autobiography. From the writings of others, it appears that Helen Schweitzer, although racked by poor health, was of vast help to her husband throughout their lives together. The climate at Lambaréné was bad for her but she spent a good deal of time there. In her last years, she was crippled by pain and weakness but seemed to mind most of all that she could no longer be of help to the hospital. She died in 1958 and is buried just outside Dr. Schweitzer's office at Lambaréné.

Mrs. Eckert, whose husband is a builder of pipe organs, rarely saw her father in her early years. She lived at a boarding school and first visited Lambaréné when she was twenty; she never considered it her home as her mother did. On the occasion of her first visit to Africa in 1939, Dr. Schweitzer wrote to a friend, "I am so happy that my daughter is able to see my hospital." She soon returned to Switzerland, where in her words she "raised dogs and children." For a variety of reasons, Dr. Schweitzer failed to see any of his four grandchildren for many years, although when the *Schweitzer Anthology* came out he wrote to his publishers: "I want the first four copies to go to the grandchildren I have never seen."

MRS. ECKERT studied to become a laboratory technician so that she could serve a useful purpose while visiting Lambaréné. ("My father likes people to be able to do things.") Her recent presence in Lambaréné has been the subject of some gossip among the French who are staying on in the new Republic of Gabon to help with administration, the public services, and the army. They are clustered in Libreville, a beautiful and surprisingly cosmopolitan city. In the bar of its best hotel, *La Résidence*, a French army captain told us that we were wasting our time bringing medical supplies to Dr. Schweitzer. "Since the wife died, the daughter has come down here to take over. After the old man dies, everything—including the money he's got salted away in Swiss banks—goes to the daughter."

The captain rambled on in the presence of a French general who kept nodding his approval. "You know what we call the old man's hospital? It's the Kingdom of Schweitzer within the Republic of Gabon. He rules it with an iron hand. He's the last true imperialist around. And he's an enemy of France. Do you know that we had to imprison him as an enemy alien in both wars?"

His last point I knew to be nonsense and I tried to tell him so. Alsace belonged to Germany when the First World War broke out, so technically Dr. Schweitzer was an enemy alien to the French at the time. They kept him under surveillance in Lambaréné for a while, then interned him in France in 1917. But in the Second World War, although French Equatorial Africa was involved, both France and Germany kept hands off the hospital at Lambaréné and Schweitzer was allowed to work unmolested, hindered only by an inadequate flow of medical

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supplies from Europe and America.

The captain ignored everything except my statement that neither France nor Germany had bothered the hospital. "You see," he said. "It *is* the Kingdom of Schweitzer, and not even the great powers dare touch it. But I assure you, he is a man without honor here in Gabon." He turned to our African bartender. "Do you know who we're talking about?" he asked. The bartender said no. "We're talking of Dr. Albert Schweitzer. Did you ever hear of him?" "No, never," said the African, who had lived all his life in Libreville, 150 miles away from Lambaréné.

There were, of course, obvious reasons for the French to resent an American group traveling around feeling high-minded and noble about bearing gifts to Schweitzer. But the reaction in Libreville was jarring. Everyone we met there was at best indifferent to our purpose, and some were plainly hostile.

"You don't know what you're doing," one Frenchman warned us. "Ask Schweitzer about his new bell. It's a gift from his Communist friends." It seems that the doctor had been presented with a new bell by an East German delegation. Around its base is the inscription "For Freedom in the Whole World." (He complains that the new bell still doesn't get people to work or to services on time.)

IT WAS at about this point in last summer's journey that I began to fear that Dr. Schweitzer would bridle at the appearance of our publicity task force. He undoubtedly accepted the bell from a Communist group in the same spirit with which he accepted medical supplies delivered to him by representatives of a nuclear-bombing force. In achieving the objectives to which he is devoted, Albert Schweitzer has more than once shown himself to be a worldly and extremely practical man.

Earlier I mentioned that Bobby Hill's appeal in Italy had produced $400,000 worth of medical supplies—a gift, it was said, from "the Italian people." Actually, the Italian people gave only one-eighth of that amount. The rest was contributed by the pharmaceutical firm of Lepetit in Milan, at least partly, it may be assumed, for the sake of publicity benefits. And the president of International Latex and a top man from MEDICO were on hand for the appropriate publicity pictures before the plane took off from Mitchel Field on the second airlift, bearing the gift "from Bobby Hill and the American people." Of course these facts were known to Dr. Schweitzer, who did not question the motives of his benefactors.

For some years, Dr. Schweitzer has been harshly criticized on two counts: for the standards of medical science and hygiene practiced at Lambaréné and for his attitudes on race. Dr. Schweitzer is fully aware of both charges, and does not see fit to change his ways.

There are modern hospitals in Gabon built by the French, antiseptic and efficient even by American standards. But Dr. Schweitzer's approach is different; he has developed, in effect, a jungle village with an emergency clinic. He is at war with ignorance, superstition, and witch doctors as well as pain and death. The American doctors told us that at first they were shocked by the looks of the place but then, after a few days, came to accept Dr. Schweitzer's standards as being rational and effective. "There's no time or room for waste here," one said. "The staff may start out the day in unironed uniforms—but they're clean, so what, really, is the difference?" Another pointed out that Dr. Schweitzer is fully susceptible to change and new techniques—so long as he is convinced that they are valid. And above all, Lambaréné has given thousands of Africans relief from pain that they would not get elsewhere, that they would not dare seek in the French-built hospitals, which to them are strange, huge foreign buildings filled with weird instruments, starched uniforms, and white faces where many questions are asked and where they are separated from their families.

Americans in particular have expressed astonishment about Dr. Schweitzer's attitude toward Africans, and there is no doubt that he does shout at them like a plantation master when he thinks they're malingering. He treats an African whom he considers in need of correction exactly as any father of his Alsatian background would treat an inept child. Once, trying to fathom his attitudes toward Negroes, I said, "The American Negroes in our group are very different from your workmen here." "You can't compare them," he answered quickly. "They are hundreds of years and a civilization more advanced than my blacks."

WHEN WE were getting ready to leave, our African porters couldn't be found. "It's your fault," Dr. Schweitzer said. "You're too easy with them. They have no idea of time. You must threaten them with the end of the world. Treat them like children."

Now eighty-six, the old man is more than ever in a hurry to get things done, more intolerant of delay and inefficiency. When our porters finally showed up, he grabbed one of them and shook him, not hard at all, in punishment. Then he noticed me looking on—with what expression I do not know. I assumed that Dr. Schweitzer, the practical man, had checked my background and identified me as one of those white American liberals. He is, as I have tried to show, extremely practical, but he is also a man of humor. He turned fully toward me and said, "I know, I know. You would rather see me shake a white man, wouldn't you?"

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Two Flags by the Sea

MADELEINE CHAPSAL

PARIS

FRANCE is peculiarly open to the world: its rivers lead into the limitless paths of the seas; neither Alps nor Pyrenees close it in; it projects Brittany into the Atlantic as if it were a hand extended toward America. It is at one of these points where the country seems to be calling to other countries, the land to the sea and matter to spirit, that our noblest poet, St.-John Perse (the diplomat Alexis Léger), lives when in France. "Let them bring us from the Marches men of great power, reduced by inaction to the profession of Enchanter" (*Winds*).

His house, rose-colored in the Mediterranean sunlight, stands high above the sea at the tip of the Giens peninsula, not far from Marseilles and Toulon, looking out to the islands of Hyères. Two flags fly above it, one bearing the Chinese character, a rectangle, that means "Light—Léger" and also "lightning under snow"; the other, the letter "P" for "Perse"—the signal a ship flies when leaving port.

Last November, just after his Nobel Prize award, I traveled south to visit St.-John Perse. For long years he had been away from France; there are not many in his own country who would know him by sight; only a few have read his poetry. He bars his door to anything resembling public curiosity. Born on his own family's island in the West Indies near Guadeloupe in 1887, Alexis Léger brought from the tropics a delicate complexion, dark eyes, and some difficulty in pronouncing his "Rs." He passed his examinations for the diplomatic service in 1914 and was posted to China in 1917. In 1921 he took part in the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments as an expert in Asian affairs. In 1932 he became permanent secretary for foreign affairs, in which post he served, under a succession of foreign ministers, until the fall of France.

It was then that he left France to live in exile in the United States. He never lost faith in his country's final triumph over Hitlerism but withheld his support from de Gaulle's Free French movement. He remained silent, however, and when publishers asked him to write his memoirs he refused.

He had no personal fortune; a post as reader in the Library of Congress was found for him. Silently, secretly, he continued to write his poetry.

Alexis Léger the diplomat never speaks of his poetry. Once Poincaré remarked rather pointedly, "It appears, M. Léger, that you write verse." He replied indignantly: "Sir, that is malicious slander." It is not Léger but St.-John Perse who writes poetry. The latter, when asked "Why do you write?," replied, "In order to live better."

ON THAT BRIGHT All Saints' Day, it was the diplomat who with exquisite courtesy received me. He spoke of Mendès-France, whom he admires, and then of Algeria, the human and political tragedy that dominates all our thoughts, and of the helplessness in which we feel mired. Yet unlike most French intellectuals whom this war brings close to despair and often embitters, he speaks of his country with tenderness and even admiration. This conflict, which is strangling a whole nation, he sees as evidence of superabundant energy and strength. Whatever the reason, perhaps because he has lived for so long abroad on diplomatic missions or in exile, Alexis Léger refuses to be blinded by the present aberrations of a generation struggling with destiny. He continues to see all that France has that is unique and enriching. In 1942, in the dark years, he wrote to Archibald MacLeish: "About France, I have nothing to tell you. France is myself and all that I am. It is the consecrated elements, the only ones through which I can conceive being able to enter into communion with anything that is universal. Even if I were not an essentially French animal, made of a clay that is essentially French (and my last breath, like my first, will be chemically French), the French language would remain for me the only imaginable refuge, the only sanctuary and retreat, the unique geometrical point at which I am able to place myself in this world and be enabled to understand anything at all, desire or renounce anything at all."

AT THE CONCLUSION of our interview the diplomat rose, and it was the poet, St.-John Perse, who invited me to tour his domain: sea, cliff, birds flying off as we walked about, sweet-smelling shrubbery and thorny bushes, and then the islands, the horizon, the sky. This beauty seemed of the earth; the poet held that it was of the spirit: "There is no history

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but the soul's, no ease but the soul's" (*Exile*).

St.-John Perse's first poem, *Eloges*, was publisher in 1911, and in all that he has written, up to the admirable *Chronique* which was published only a few months ago in France and will soon appear in the United States, there is the same process by which he converts everything that exists, mineral, vegetable, or animal, into something that is human. It happens often that a writer, a poet, a thinker abandons some part of the world, some part of man, in favor of some other part to which he gives the emphasis. St.-John Perse abandons nothing. His poetry has been called "cosmic"; the word, unappetizing as it may be, is the right one. Even the poet accepts it: we are engaged in so violent a material struggle that it is essential not to forget that there are other values, moral and spiritual. Far from despising or giving up the fight on the material and scientific plane—for St.-John Perse nothing can ever be given up—we must of course continue the struggle against poverty, sickness, and war, against all that the modern world has set as stakes to be fought for. But it is wrong to forget that man is not uniquely composed of material needs and desires: he has a soul. The individual must remain undiminished and whole. This is where the poet can help: he can create anew in himself and in his work the wholeness of the human being.

Eloges, Anabasis, Exile, Winds, Seamarks, or *Chronique*—one has only to read attentively and lovingly this vast, lyrical, and noble work, and it will be clearly evident that this poet deals with all the problems of our times. He looks upon industry, business, science, politics, and diplomacy. There is New York: "I saw again the Town high under the thunderbolt, the Town of giant organs under the lightning" (*Winds*). There is youth: "And once more there is a rush of new girls to the New Year, wearing, under the nylon, the fresh almond of their sex" (*Winds*). There are the statesmen and war: "A great principle of violence dictated our fashions" (*Anabasis*). There is the slow movement of peoples westward, the problems of solitude, love, religion, poetry: "And the time is come, O Poet, to declare your name, your birth and your race. . . ." (*Exile*).

WORKS OF ST.-JOHN PERSE IN BILINGUAL EDITIONS

ANABASIS: Translation and preface by T. S. Eliot. *Harcourt, Brace. $4.*

ELOGES AND OTHER POEMS: Translation by Louise Varèse with an introduction by Archibald MacLeish. *Pantheon. $2.*

EXILE AND OTHER POEMS: Translation by Denis Devlin. *Bollingen Series XV. Pantheon. $2.*

SEAMARKS: Translation by Wallace Fowlie. *Bollingen Series LXVII. Pantheon. $3.50.*

WINDS: Translation by Hugh Chisholm. *Bollingen Series XXXIV. Pantheon. $5.*

CHRONICLE: Translation by Robert Fitzgerald. *Bollingen Series LXIX. Pantheon.* To be published this spring.

Finally there is old age, an old age that is proud and happy dominion: "Great age, you lied: a road of glowing embers, not of ash . . . Great age, you reign. . . . Great age, behold us—and our mortal strides toward the issue. . . .Take the measure of man's heart" (*Chronique*).

The words are direct and strong; they breathe with the rhythm of man and earth. But St.-John Perse also is master of, and uses, an astoundingly vast technical vocabulary, for he has been a sailor, a botanist, and a horseman, and is widely read in medicine, geology, and ethnology. Always dominant, ever present, is the sea, to which perhaps the most striking passages in all his work are dedicated: "The Sea, in celebration of its steps, like an ode of stone . . . The Sea, woven in us, to the last weaving of its tangled night, the Sea in us weaving its great hours of light and its great trails of darkness. . . . the Sea higher than our face, at the height of our soul . . ." (*Seamarks*).

In St.-John Perse, all feeling, when extended to its ultimate limits, leads back to the soul. Even when the point of departure may be the humblest of gestures, the most physical of emotions, always the soul is there to claim its share, the greatest of all: "The soul's claims on the flesh are extreme" (*Winds*). All the way until that final point of departure, of taking flight, in which death itself can no longer be grief but joy, total joy.

AS WE STROLLED along the high cliff above the Mediterranean, high above the sea close to the sky, St.-John Perse spoke little about writing, much about nature. "A book is the death of a tree," he once said to Briand. He spoke too of human beings and particularly of women. They are more elemental than man and so their frontiers are broader. Like the poet they are open to everything, to almost everything. Yet they are torn by their need to reach an understanding with man, a being far more complicated than themselves, to whom they would like to entrust and lose themselves. But man rejects woman's vocation to give. Man does not seek—no longer seeks, no longer is able—to assume his responsibility for women. Now, treated so often as "older sisters," women are at a loss: they have nothing profoundly important to do. Is it because the poet too is immensely available that he can divine woman's secret? What St.-John Perse said of women seemed to penetrate intimately to the very heart of the perilous world that is woman's today.

As he spoke, the poet surveyed the familiar yet ever-renewed scene about us. I too looked at this horizon that we shared, and it seemed to me that I had never seen before so pure a light, so flaming a sunset in this south of France that I thought I knew so well. Perhaps I was seeing it differently, more humbly, more attentively, because I stood at the side of a man whose vocation it is to see.

After I had left him, and was driving along the twisting coastal roads that lead to Toulon, I kept thinking of a word, one difficult to use in our times, one which we rarely find occasion to use and which we generally prefer to leave to history and the dictionaries: the word "grandeur." When I got home, I reopened St.-John Perse's collected works and came upon this line: "I have praised you, grandeur, and found you faulty in all your foundations." There too the poet had anticipated my thought, reminding me that the unique source of grandeur in all that is human, in all artistic creation—notably in his own—and in all love is to remain strictly at man's level.

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Just Looking

MARYA MANNES

I HAVE several games I play with myself about this year's crop of musicals. First I try to remember their stories, or "books," as they are euphemistically called. *Camelot,* of course, is easy, although the fateful affair between Guinevere and Lancelot is hardly the way I imagined it and I could not make even elfin sense out of the Morgan le Fay bit. *The Unsinkable Molly Brown* is about an Irish girl who was rebuffed by Denver society and hit 'em back, but that's about all. *Wildcat* was another excursion into our rugged earlier days, but I don't remember what went on. *Do Re Mi* is about a jukebox racket that doesn't work, but don't ask me why. In short, just as musicals were beginning to tell things coherently to music, they are now—with the faulty exception of *Camelot*—content to convey almost nothing.

My next game is imagining these new musicals without their stars. *Camelot* without Richard Burton would lose what heart and distinction it has, for the only moving moments—the glimmers of kinghood and chivalry and compassion—are in his Arthur. Without Burton the show would be merely the opulent, handsome, wavering charade that it mostly is.

Molly Brown is unthinkable without Tammy Grimes, who is a boundless delight on the stage not because of what she has to do and sing but because of what she is—a small, hoarse, winsome, fiery child-woman who holds the show in her combative fist.

I shudder to imagine *Wildcat* without Lucille Ball. As anyone who has seen "Lucy" on television knows, this is a wonderful dame, one of the few women alive who can play the dumb comic and remain desirable. She does her mightiest to make her oil-crazy tomboy look like a good idea, but the book fights her every inch of the way.

As for *Do Re Mi,* minus Phil Silvers and Nancy Walker it would be the loud, derivative junk it clearly is, unretrieved even by the brilliant pacing and inventive visual devices that give the illusion of vitality. But in several passages, notably the hilarious "Adventure," these two give the show the humor and humanity that the script lacks.

Now let's try the music. *Camelot* wins hands down on this, to no surprise: Lerner and Loewe are masters of their lyric art; and if the score is reminiscent in several places of *My Fair Lady,* it is merely a confirmation of its essential charm and distinction. The only songs of this year's musicals that I can remember are, in fact, "What Do the Simple Folk Do?," "Camelot," and "I Wonder What the King Is Doing Tonight." In Richard Burton's light but intensely masculine voice, in his clipped diction, the songs are a solid joy.

As a great admirer of Meredith Willson's melodic line in *The Music Man,* I recognized his idiom in the score of *Molly Brown,* but the only song that stays with me is "Belly Up to the Bar, Boys," a fine rousing chantey in a sea of mild carolings.

The same goes for *Wildcat's* "What Takes My Fancy," in which Lucy and a marvelously scruffy little man with wicked eyes, Don Tomkins, stop the show.

Paradoxically, for it prides itself on hard-bitten and highly professional nonsense, *Do Re Mi* has the only love songs of the season that might make a boy and girl move closer together: "I Know About Love" and "Make Someone Happy." In "Cry Like the Wind," too, composer Jule Styne soars lyrically beyond the tinny clatter of the rest of the score. After *Gypsy* and *Do Re Mi,* I would like to hear Mr. Styne in a frankly emotional show where meaning took precedence over noise.

My last game has to do merely with visual memory. And it may serve as one more indication of the intrinsic poverty of the current musical theater that I remember scenic effects more than any other. The gold-throne scene in *Camelot,* the mounted knights, the glorious ladies—these are stamped on my retina. So is the splendid exuberance of the Browns' Denver mansion in *Molly Brown,* the highly ingenious derrick-building and oil-gushing scene in *Wildcat,* and the brilliant jukebox-illuminated symbols in *Do Re Mi.*

In their respective shows, designers Oliver Smith (*Molly Brown* and *Camelot*), Boris Aronson (*Do Re Mi*), and Peter Larkin (*Wildcat*) deserve star billing.

BUT WHAT does this all add up to? That we have a genius for mounting and staging musicals, for finding stars, and for making smash hits out of material so skimpy that it could never exist on its own merits. It means that we will squander any amount of talent and money on safe ideas and old times, on new gimmicks and stale situations. It means that for the moment at least, we are content to slip back into the old days of musical theater before Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein and Lorenz Hart and Cole Porter and Jerome Kern and George Gershwin and Alan Lerner and Frederick Loewe felt bound to give their audiences more than disjointed frivolity and no less than an exciting union of music, story, dance, and meaning that would send them, released, elated, and happy, into the night.

Why, after *Guys and Dolls, The King and I, Oklahoma!, My Fair Lady,* and *West Side Story,* must producers dredge up and reconcoct horseless Westerns or gangster-gag Easterns? Why, when they do borrow from a first-class storyteller like T. H. White (*The Once and Future King*) and a great legend like the Round Table, must they emasculate and confuse their tale with meaningless tangents and opposing moods? Is it because they know that those ubiquitous benefit parties will sign up a year in advance for costumes, names, and noise?

The fact that all the New York critics but one hailed *Do Re Mi* with delight is a reflection less on their judgment than on the level of the preceding musical fare. For me, I'll take *Camelot*: it aimed high, and for a wide miss it's still full sightly and sometimes more.

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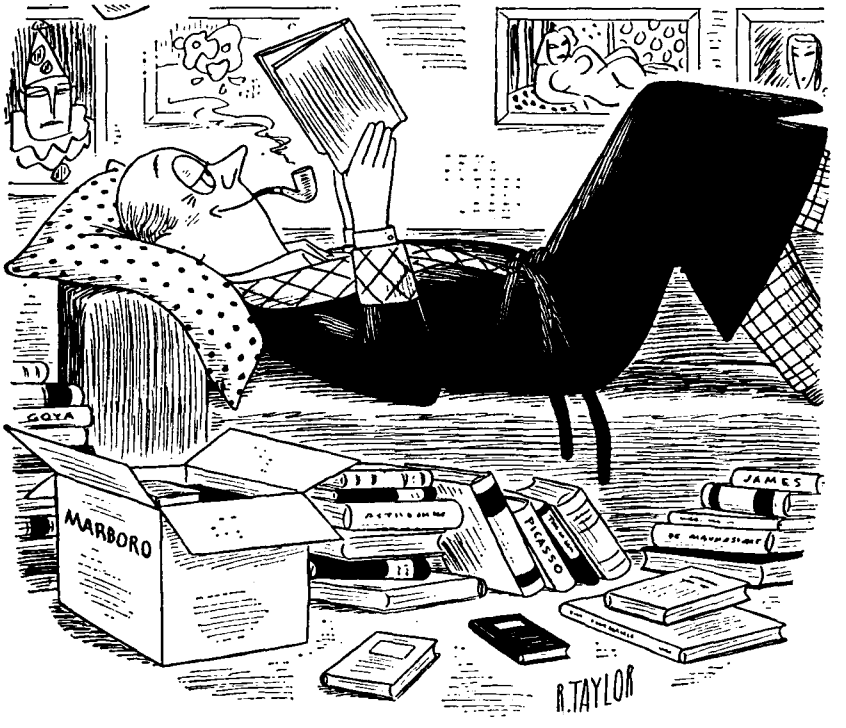

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The Man They Sing To

NAT HENTOFF

ALAN LOMAX, a man of overpowering energy and geyserlike enthusiasms, has been collecting folk music for twenty-eight of his forty-six years. His father, John Avery Lomax, was one of the first popularizers of American folk song, beginning with the publication in 1910 of his *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads*. In 1933, father and son became the first collectors to undertake an extensive recording project among Southern Negroes in prisons and work camps. The Lomaxes went on to administer and provide an enormous amount of material for the Archive of American Folk Song of the Library of Congress. They also collaborated in several large anthologies of folk songs that exasperated scholars in the field because the Lomaxes, primarily concerned with printing the most singable version of a song, often made up a composite text based on variants collected from different sources. The Lomaxes, however, were trying to communicate their fervor for folk music to the general reader, not the specialist, and they succeeded in that more than any other collectors.

Through most of the 1950's Alan Lomax was in Europe, amassing huge amounts of material in Spain, Italy, and the British Isles. In England, through a series of brilliantly edited and dramatically paced broadcasts for the BBC, he stimulated a reawakening of interest in British folk music among collectors as well as lay listeners, who thought all the folk music on the island had long since been tidily collected and categorized. While in Europe, Lomax was also general editor of a remarkable Columbia Records series, *A World Library of Folk and Primitive Music*, seventeen volumes of which have been released.

IN THE SUMMER of 1959, back in America, Lomax decided to return to the South on a collecting trip for the first time in fifteen years. He took a stereo recording machine, thereby becoming the first collector to record a large project in the field in stereo. In the early 1930's, Lomax and his father had been the first to surprise rural musicmakers with an electric recording machine, and shortly after the war, Alan Lomax was the first to roam the South with a tape recorder.

Atlantic Records has now issued seven records of the 1959 journey, which included Virginia, the Middle South, the Ozarks, and the Georgia Sea Islands. The set is available boxed (*Southern Folk Heritage Series*, Atlantic monaural (HS1), $29.95; stereo SD-HS1, $34.95); but the records can also be purchased individually ($4.95 monaural, $5.95 stereo). It is true, as Lomax maintains, that stereo "gives you the music with the bark on," in that it brings into much more vivid and detailed relief the subtleties of tone color and other vocal mannerisms peculiar to the various traditional styles. The monaural versions, however, are thoroughly acceptable, and the lack of stereo equipment should not be an obstacle to the enjoyment of Lomax's lively discoveries.

Lomax found—as Dr. Harry Oster of Louisiana State University has been demonstrating for several years in his Folk-Lyric Records—that although several traditions are dying, a sizable amount of raw, unself-conscious folk music still exists in the South. "Folk music," Lomax reports, "was flourishing wherever there was an institution to support it . . . wherever, that is, a local folk festival, religious group, dance style or broadcasting station gave it an outlet. . . .The South was still a rich area, rich in antiquities and still producing new sounds."

The seven records are among Lomax's most important work, particularly in the clues he provides concerning pre-jazz elements in early Negro church music and dance tunes. All the music, however, comes through with vibrant spontaneity. Lomax's major skill is his capacity to get the musicians to perform for him rather than for the tape recorder. He is so visibly impressed and curious about the music that he renews the singer's pride in his heritage and stimulates him to give all of himself to the performance.

THE FIRST RECORD, *Sounds of the South*, is a broad survey of what Lomax found and is probably the first a nonspecialist ought to sample. It includes Ozark dance music of a genre that was popular on the old Southwestern frontier, a sizzling Blue Grass band from Virginia, a swelling hymn by a group of Sacred Harp singers, Blue Ridge ballads, and some particularly absorbing Negro material. In northern Mississippi, Lomax came upon survivals of some unusually early Afro-American music. One man plays the quills (the Pan-pipe), on which he can sound only four notes, filling in the rest with whoops. There is also a Negro fife-and-drum band in a tradition that goes back to the Revolutionary War. *Sounds of the South* also contains a fiercely exultant baptizing scene, spirituals that antedate the urbanized gospel music now pervasively popular in Negro churches, a prison work song, a descendant of the field hollers of slavery time, and the sweet but powerfully poignant unaccompanied singing of Vera Hall, an Alabama woman whom John Lomax first recorded for the Library of Congress in the 1930's.

Lomax adds in a wry footnote that some of this Southern folk music remains flexibly functional. A Blue Ridge Mountain trio of banjo, fiddle, and guitar (including a brisk octogenarian) "is employed by a local auction company to cheer up the proceedings when a family farm is being sold off, for it is their sound that means gaiety to the older generation."

Blue Ridge Mountain Music, the second record, reinforces Lomax's contention that these breezily confident string bands "can now match in virtuosity the stringed orchestras of Spain and Russia." Each of these records, incidentally, comes with detailed notes by Lomax on the individual performances as well as histories of the various vocal and instrumental traditions. *Roots of the Blues*, the third in the series, includes more of the volatile fife-and-drum band, in which one man thumps an old bass drum with "an accompanying African rhythm as

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 25

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person.

A
200 174 121 186 170 54 42 165 216
Renounced; rejected.

B
10 32 103 159 202 184 74 135 46
93 166
Open parapets.

C
208 61 194 77 107 152 117
Jambs or vertical faces of an opening.

D
36 56 109 127 95
Take into account; set apart; abate; deduct.

E
178 198 44 30 105 220
A collection of church songs.

F
123 180 12 210 To sanction, ratify.

G
28 2 34 224 Cut down.

H
60 196 40 20 204 206
"Un-dish-cover the fish, or dishcover the _____" Carroll, Through the Looking Glass.

I
192 24 131 A young shoot; a sapling.

J
133 145 79 48
"With mine own tears I wash away my___"
Shakespeare, Richard II.

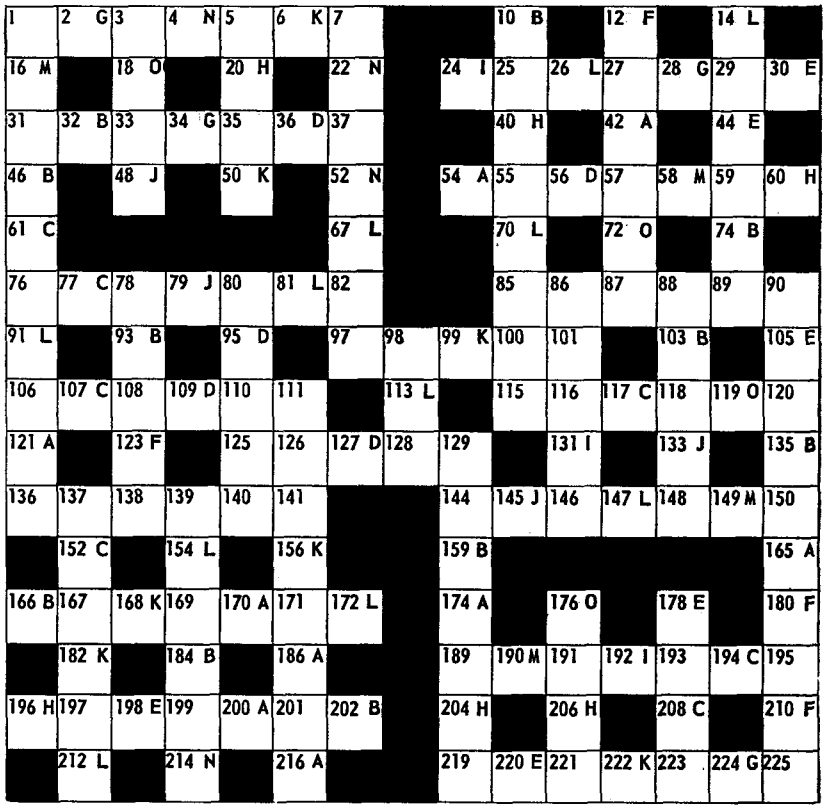
K
182 222 156 99 168 6 50
To take by authority for public service.

L
91 70 26 154 113 67 147 212 14
81 172
State of the Acrostician.

M
16 58 190 149 A furnace. (rare)

N
4 52 22 214 Enrich.

O
176 72 18 119
To beat; of a sail, to flap heavily.



ACROSS

1. The beginning of 1 down with a band? Own up!
24. Man separated from man by ten with this islander.
31. Warn Hal of the arctic mammal.
54. A half century paramour is washed up. (3, 4)
76. SRO? Oh, tell us! (4, 3)
85. Ma, alas, makes a bow backwards!
97. Threads not at a remnant.
106. Ten dollar pieces are seldom made on the golf links.
115. Give up the reigns?
125. Displays how on board.
136. A musical instrument I'd weaken.
144. A giant with a doublet making cord lace.
166. Lights the east with dexterity.
189. Credit a live bee.
196. Any rise is changed by twelvemonth periods. (2, 5)
219. Component found in clientele mentioned above.

DOWN

1. Does the prisoner come down or merely stoop?
3. Model for morning when the drink is removed.
5. Shed surds and sonants.
7. Chooses when it sleets. See?
10. A sable rod makes a poor sport. (3, 5)
12. Praise in context: olla podria. (Br. Sp.)
14. A private room in America when I leave.
78. Lawful when age is over or under fifty.
80. Thou art in debt, as a cowboy might apostrophize his region.
86. Skilled in a small department.
88. Bail I find with an excuse.
90. Beginning of 24 across with inverted center of 78 down plus beginning and end of 24 across take tea with executive ability.
98. Cut the department of the Acrostician.
111. Doctors of Philosophy here with the pastor.
129. Let the bee bustle in the short grass.
137. Big Ten football team sick in one season?
139. How we stand together.
176. Run away with the waffle elements.
178. Syngman Rhee is not there.

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wild as the mane of hair that rises above his face." There is also some country Negro fiddle playing with a swinging pulsation that is probably representative of late nineteenth-century pre-jazz rhythms. The fourth record, *White Spirituals,* is a cross section of the twanging and often infectiously cheerful religious music of country string bands and singers. There is a lovely, graceful "Poor Wayfaring Stranger" by Estil Ball of Rugby, Virginia. Equally memorable is the soaring Sacred Harp choral singing, in which the notes for each of the four parts are a different shape—"round, square, diamond, triangular . . . a system invented by American pioneer singing master . . . for non-bookish people."

American Folk Songs for Children, the fifth record, is a cross section of Negro and white material and is worth slipping in among the Little Golden Records to give the children an idea of how it was when families made up their own songs or at least their own variations on traditional tunes. *Negro Church Music,* the sixth record, is filled with bursting emotions and rocking, spiraling rhythms. The final one, *The Blues Roll On,* has several tracks by thirty-five-year-old Forest City Joe of Arkansas, who died in a car crash before setting out for the North and a possible professional career in rhythm and blues. Joe was a rough, often caustic blues shouter and a harshly inventive harmonica player who "sang around and over the mouth harp so that voice and instrument became one stream of continuous sound, the harp commenting with wild enthusiasm on the lines just sung."

ABOUT THE SAME TIME the *Southern Folk Heritage Series* was issued, Alan Lomax's newest and most ambitious book was published (*The Folk Songs of North America,* Doubleday, $7.50). There are 317 songs divided into four sections—North, Southern Mountain and Backwoods, Negro South, and West. For amateur performers, there are the melody lines and texts for all the songs as well as guitar chords provided by Peggy Seeger and piano accompaniments for a hundred of the tunes by Matyas Seiber and Don Banks. Lomax gives the full source

of each of the texts he has chosen or "arranged," and there are cross-references to variants in other collections.

The book is dedicated to the late John Lomax, "who broke the trail." The son, however, has been much more absorbed than his father in what the music he has collected reveals of the lives and social relationships of the singers. To this end, Alan Lomax has increasingly applied to his findings—often rather sweepingly—the techniques of psychology, anthropology, and sociology, in contrast to those collectors who devote themselves entirely to comparing texts or analyzing the music. Lomax's boldly colored introductions to the songs, therefore, form an informal social history of America in line with his belief that "an ideal folksong study could be a history of popular feeling." This book is a beginning in that direction for the general reader.

While in Europe, Lomax began developing a thesis that any given area's "formative emotional patterns" can be discerned in the ways its people perform their indigenous music. "Certain song styles," he has explained, "are characterized by open-throated singing, others by a constricted throat, others by extreme muscular tension in the face and jaw, others by a relaxed jaw. In the western European cultures I have studied, the degree of relaxation or constriction seems to be closely connected with the sexual mores of the society and the way in which children are brought up." Applying this approach in his new book, Lomax claims that "the pioneer white in America retained scarcely any ability to make music in groups. When he and his fellows sang together in church, there was little blending and no harmony unless a singing teacher was there to instruct them. White pioneers sang long ballads, slow lyric pieces with highly decorated melodies, or lilting dance tunes—largely in solo, often in a high-pitched, sometimes 'womanish' nasal tone. A tense throat allowed little variation in vocal color, but great delicacy in ornamentation. The effect was a mournful wailing sound, like an oriental oboe, suitable to the inner conflict and melancholy of the songs. A singer sat stiffly erect, his body rigid, the muscles of his throat and face tense, gazing into the distance or with his eyes closed—an impersonal, though highly-charged story-teller."

THE OTHER major tradition in American folk music came from the Negro. For him, says Lomax, musicmaking was largely a group activity "with a more relaxed throat than the whites, and in deeper-pitched, mellower voices, which blended richly. The faces of the singers were animated and expressive . . . and the emotion of the songs was, on the whole, joyfully erotic, deeply tragic, allusive, playful, or ironic rather than nostalgic, withdrawn, factual, or aggressively comic—as among white folk singers."

However, Lomax also recognizes the constant interaction between Negro and white traditions in shaping American folk music as a whole. "Song material," he observes, "passed back and forth across the racial line so that it becomes increasingly difficult to say which group has contributed most to a song." In his notes for the Atlantic *Sounds of the South* album, Lomax adds: "Indeed, this tradition of rivalry and emulation probably has more to do with the richness of the Southern folk tradition than all other factors combined . . . Only recently I worked in an area in northwest Virginia where this condition still markedly persists. My oldest Negro informant told me that he had learned all his best tunes on the mountain white farm where he had been raised. The most skillful white and Negro instrumentalists in this neighborhood had joined forces to form an interracial 'blue grass' band that met every weekend to play square dance music. Yet this was an area where not even the first steps had been taken to integrate the schools."

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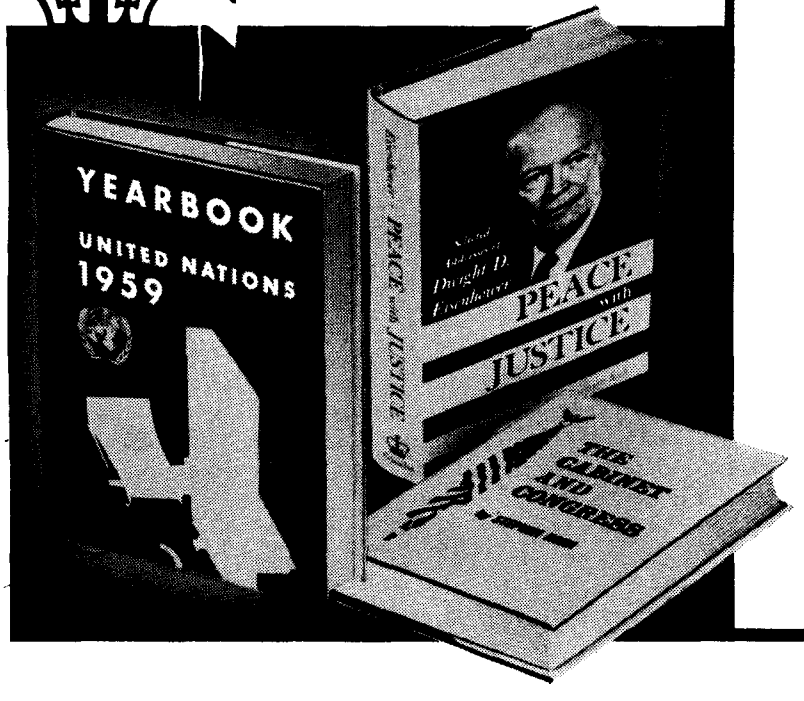

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WILLIAM LETWIN

THE SPARE CHANCELLOR, by Alastair Buchan. *Michigan State University Press. $5.*

Generations of Nobel Prizes have taught us that a great man is a man who has done great things in some delimited field. It was not always so. Professionalism was not a fixed way of life among gentlemen or Victorians; and Walter Bagehot (1826-1877), one of the most eminent of Victorians, has been the despair of biographers because he is so difficult to place. In a book that is both lively and precise, Mr. Buchan does not force Bagehot into any simple mold, but shows him in the round and leaves us to draw our own conclusions. He was, of course, a banker throughout his adult life. He was born into banking, and did well at it; but had he done nothing else, he would have been as useful and obscure as any other efficient banker in an out-of-the-way place. To call Bagehot a banker is as revealing as to call T. S. Eliot a publisher.

Bagehot's eminence rests on his writings, but they too are difficult to place. Was he a political philosopher? Two of his books, *The English Constitution* and *Physics and Politics*, point that way. They describe the English political order as it worked in Bagehot's time, or rather as he understood it to be working. He did not set out, as the classical philosophers (or for that matter Locke or Hobbes) did, to justify a political system by deducing it from fundamental principles about the nature of man and of justice. The description he offered is not a set of random observations; it is distinctively Bagehot's description, and the predominant themes—that English democracy is kept in order by deference, and that imitation and the natural desire to conform are the cement of civilized societies—make up a theory of politics, yet a theory that lacks the profundity to qualify as philosophy.

Was he a literary critic? Two volumes of his collected works are made up of essays on great English writers. But he wrote most of them before he was thirty-five, and they show it. He is not a distinguished critic, but rather a man who might have become one, although Mr. Buchan, who has written this admirable and sympathetic biography, does not allow him even the potentiality. He maintains that Bagehot, whose mother balanced on the brink of madness during most of his life, apparently feared that he might go that way himself, and sacrificed his deepest sensitivities to keep himself in order. The possibility of tragedy was always so close that he could not let himself imagine tragedy.

Was he an economist? The credentials are better here than elsewhere. Not so much because he wrote a book called *Lombard Street*, which analyzed the London money market, for that book does little more than reflect his experience as a banker and his conviction that the Bank of England, having by habit become a central bank, should deliberately assume the responsibilities of a central bank. What matters more is that he edited the *Economist*, a journal founded and left in his hands by his father-in-law, James Wilson, and raised by Bagehot to the eminence and influence it has since enjoyed. Now anyone who writes skillfully and intelligently for seventeen years about economic questions, as Bagehot did, will in common parlance be called an economist. There is only one thing missing: to deserve the honorific title a man should be able to analyze any practical question in theoretical terms. It is not a matter of caring for theory or working only on theory, but of having the instinctively theoretical outlook that sifts all the live details for the one or two critical symptoms that reveal the real nature of the disease or indi-

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cate the best line of treatment. And this is just what Bagehot's economic writings reveal that he lacked.

His attitude was in fact the opposite of theoretical. What he admired and emulated was the outlook of his father-in-law, who when writing in the *Economist* did not begin "as political economists have wittily been said to do, with 'Suppose a man upon an island' but 'What they do in the City is this.'" Here is the clue to Bagehot's real occupation. He was above all a journalist.

He was a journalist because he was overwhelmingly interested in things of the moment. This temperament is one that the true journalist shares with the natural politician and which distinguishes both from another breed of man who finds current affairs uninteresting just because they are so changeable, because today's crisis will after all have worked itself out by tomorrow, when it will, in any event, be succeeded by another. The one sort of man works in vivid spurts, his attention jumping from one subject to another; the other keeps working slowly, patient and undistracted; they are hare and tortoise, with the difference that they run in separate races and can both win. Bagehot knew this of himself, for he wrote to his father: "I would much rather exert my mind really very hard for a short time, than attend for a long time to a great number of comparatively easy things." He did not always admire the opposite, and criticized Macaulay on the ground that "an orator should never talk like an observatory"; besides, Macaulay addressed himself too much to posterity: "He regards living men as painful prerequisites of great-grandchildren." Bagehot wrote about the moment and for his audience of the moment.

But what accounts for the greatness of his journalism? It is partly a matter of style, and his creed was that "The knack of style is to write like a human being." This, which to Bagehot meant that success comes to those who "are willing to be themselves, to write their own thoughts in their own words, in the simplest words, in the words wherein they thought," is good advice but dangerous. A man worth listening to may, if he adopts a misconceived style, put unnecessary obstacles between himself and the reader; but a man who has nothing to say will make that painfully obvious if he adopts a good style. Only a great man can write simply and directly and yet emerge as a great writer.

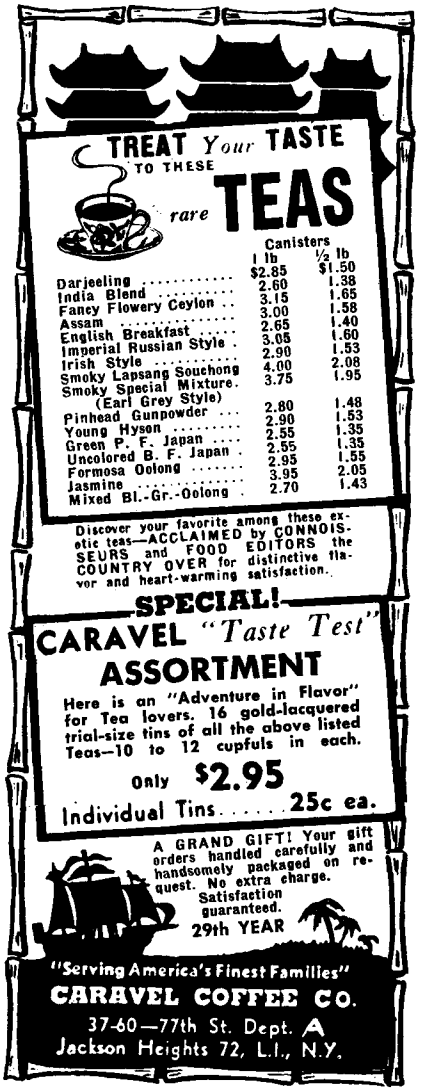
The form of Bagehot's personal greatness is not easy to identify. One can point to the variety of his interests, the seriousness with which he accepted the educational responsibilities of a journalist who hopes for an informed democracy, the compassion and sensitivity of his biographical essays. Equally important are his awareness of the complexity of things and what his friend Richard Holt Hutton of the *Spectator* described as a "curious combination of dash and doubt; great vivacity in describing the superficial impressions produced on him . . . and great caution in yielding his mind to that superficial impression." In the end, the man is best summed up in a word more familiar to the vocabulary of his time than ours: Bagehot was eminently civilized.

Parodies Regained

F. W. DUPEE

PARODIES: AN ANTHOLOGY FROM CHAUCER TO BEERBOHM—AND AFTER. Edited by Dwight Macdonald, *Random House. $7.50.*

Dwight Macdonald has made an entertaining, instructive, and—I would guess—durable book out of this collection of parodies. By calling it durable I mean to differentiate it from the many "cavalcades" or "omnibuses" of humorous writing I have seen. Immense, festive, and costly, those volumes usually seem designed for giving away, preferably to someone who is *going* away, and they look as if they had come into the world already gift-wrapped. The present volume neither looks like that nor is like that. As distinguished from humor at large, parody is a unique genre with its own laws and traditions. It thus lends itself better than humor at large to the efforts of the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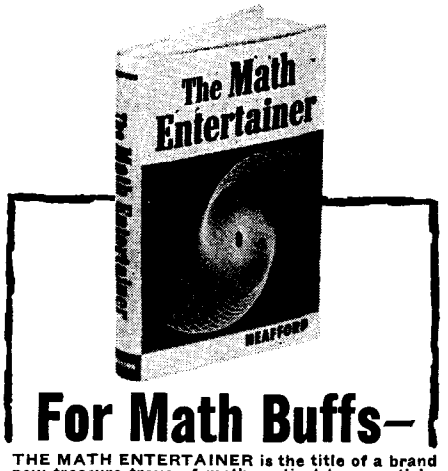

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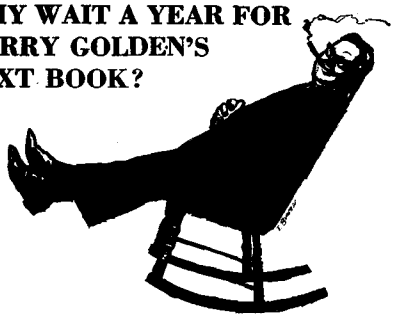

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Acrostician—

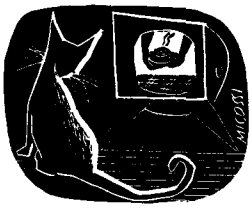
HENRY CABOT LODGE

discriminating anthologist. Mr. Macdonald is such an anthologist and Random House has made a neat, manageable volume out of his collection.

It is true that the volume is stout and expensive. Rights to the parodizings of Beerbohm, Gibbs, White & Co., if not of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Henry Carey & Co., probably come high. Its pages number 574, not counting the final one, which though unhonored by a numeral contains some relevant information. It traces the editor's career in outline, from Exeter to Yale to Macy's, from *Fortune* to *Partisan Review* to *Politics* to the *New Yorker*. Anyone who has written for so many different audiences, and who has a style as distinctive as Mr. Macdonald's, must be peculiarly conscious of the arts and subterfuges involved in writing, the rewards and costs of having a style. In other words, he must be unusually qualified to get the point of parody. And if he has Mr. Macdonald's capacity for infectious derision as well as his love of scissors and paste, he is not unlikely to undertake, sometime and somehow, the editing of an anthology of parodies.

In doing just this, Mr. Macdonald has brought together some 160 specimens. They range from "The Rime of Sir Thopas," Chaucer's takeoff on the too metrical meters of medieval romance in verse, to "Speaking of Books," Donald Malcolm's tribute to the prosy prose of J. Donald Adams. In general, the selections will probably appeal to that possibly ficitional figure, the common reader. In addition, they constitute, for the scholarly reader, a sort of sub-handbook to the history of literature in English. Most major writers of England and America are represented in parodic form, as are certain lesser writers like Ambrose Philips, Henry R. Luce, and Dwight D. Eisenhower ("The Gettysburg Address in Eisenhowese," by Oliver Jensen).

NOT THAT ALL the examples are addressed to the work of single stylists. "Resistentialism," by the English writer Paul Jennings, reproduces with wonderfully sustained effect the pious manner of those "Paris Letters" which are composed for little literary magazines at home in England or the States. Almost as good in the same vein are W. B. Scott's "Chicago Letter: Agony, a Sense of Plight," and S. J. Perelman's "The Avantgarde Vernacular." And naturally, surpassing all others, there is Wolcott Gibbs's Profile of Henry Luce in *Time*-style, with the famous last words "How it will all end, knows God." Elsewhere in the volume are Kenneth Tynan on Wilder and Faulkner (a double play of great merit), E. B. White on Hemingway, E. B. White again on Whitman and



the Classics Club ("the manly love of classics"), Edmund Wilson on MacLeish ("The Omelet of . . ."), and Cyril Connolly on Aldous Huxley ("Some fragments of Pamphylides, a Choctaw blood-mask, the prose of Scaliger the Elder, a painting by Fuseli, an occasional visit to the all-in wrestling . . ."). I do not mention the parodies from earlier centuries, many of them still viable. Nor have I mentioned Max Beerbohm, who inevitably and properly receives the most pages.

Though spanning so much time and space, Mr. Macdonald's book never quite sags. He helps to hold it up by his headnotes to each section: these, like his preface and appendix, are lively and informative. Sometimes, I must admit, he seems to have been tempted into parodying himself. Either that or else my own immersion in the book has made all writing seem to me to resolve itself promptly into its grosser mannerisms. Anyway, Mr. Macdonald's commentaries seem strikingly full of Macdonaldisms. In particular his well-known treasure chest of historical parallels and technical allusions is spilled out for us. Who but he would start his preface by comparing the art of parody to "Marx's description of a commodity" and then go on to compare it to jujitsu and Method acting? In their soberer moments his remarks possess, besides the virtues mentioned above, the useful one of nonchalance vis-à-vis his subject. No great claims are here

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made for parody considered as a branch of literature. He enjoys it, he says, because it is "an intuitive kind of literary criticism," because it is criticism become active like mimicry, and because it is funny.

He concludes by suggesting that parody is today without "the old vigor." I don't know why this should be; some of his recent examples seem vigorous enough. Once more, as in the Edwardian period that Beerbohm devastated with a *A Christmas Garland,* writers are idea-happy, word-happy, audience-happy, and fee-happy. Everyone wants to get into the act, including the basketball coach of an Eastern university who recently resigned his post "to go to Florida and write"—perhaps a memoir entitled "My Escape from the Locker Room." A recent drawing of Saul Steinberg's expresses the situation in graphic form. It shows a man whose insides are entirely made up of copy and who is breathing it, quite unprocessed, into the atmosphere. I should think that the art of parody could be adapted to take care of this situation. I know that my immersion in Mr. Macdonald's book has cleared the atmosphere for me, at least momentarily, and made it difficult for me to take seriously any copy, including my own.

The Dreamer Looks Back

GOUVERNEUR PAULDING

The Infant with the Globe, by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón. Translated from the Spanish by Robert Graves. *Thomas Yoseloff. $3.50.*

Alarcón (1833-1891) was born at Guadix, near Granada in the south of Spain, and he was very proud that he had Moorish blood in his veins. The Moors were such artists that they would channel water down from their palaces on the Spanish hills, adjusting the slope of the concave tiles over which it ran so that each miniature waterfall at each successive terrace would enchant the listener with a crystalline sound differing in pitch from that above it and that below it, merging, as the listener paused on some intricately sculpted stone bench, into ever modulating chords. Like the Americas and the bulls, the Moors also served to allay, provisionally, the insatiable Spanish thirst for heroic adventure, making possible the existence of a Cid Campeador before exploration made possible the Pizarros, and the simple-minded bulls the single-minded matadors. Alarcón, accepting this heritage, looked out at the road that winds over the hills that separate Guadix from the sea—even in the nineteenth century the road was still lonely and the barren hills forbidding—and saw a figure returning from the Americas to his native town, laden with riches, burdened with a desperate resolve.

The traveler is Manuel, orphan of a rich and noble family that has been despoiled by the local usurer, who, of course, is the father of Soledad whom Manuel has loved since childhood and has come to claim as bride. He has been faithful to her in every fashion: "I have been twice around the world; I have seen women, many women, some of them acclaimed as divinities, in Circassia, in Greece, in Cuba, in Peru. . . . For me they were neither divinities nor even women. They were nothing—they were, in fact, the absence of Soledad." She, however, has been compelled by her father to marry. What a situation! All Guadix, and the reader, awaits the wholly foreseeable, the only honorable, the duly tragic end. Only Manuel's old friend, Don Trinidad Muley, the saintly priest, attempts to prevent it. He fails.

If *The Infant with the Globe* were no more than this plot, it would still rank with the best of romantic tales because of the moving eloquence and descriptive power with which it is written. It can be read as such and it is strongly affecting. But to do so would mean dismissing chapter after chapter in which Alarcón subjects the story to the scrutiny of various characters not directly involved in its development. These skeptics speak for a mature Alarcón looking back with understanding and irony on the romanticism of his youth.

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they do not seek to readjust it or retell it as it never happened. They leave untouched, unsullied, the impossible devotions, the absolutes of youth, as they themselves once dreamed them or even tried to live them. Alarcón makes this clear—but outside his story, not within it. His sarcasm is directed against himself, the youth who believed that Manuel's fanatic love and tragic fate were enacted at the highest level of man's spiritual capacities. Here is his picture of a nineteenth-century provincial romantic: "Of these untimely Mirabeaux, Napoleons, or Balzacs, some die before they reach the age of twenty, crushed by their own genius, or by despair; others descend slowly and painfully to the level of their most vulgar compatriots, and

end as clerks to the Town Council . . . others succeed in taking flight to the capital city of their country, be it Paris or Madrid, Vienna or St. Petersburg, where they die of hunger, shoot themselves or become useless. . . . But a few at last end as great men: academicians, generals, ministers, millionaires—and bequeath their names to future generations."

Alarcón took part in the confused politics of his day. Just as he had been a romantic so he was at first a liberal; he became a conservative and a classicist—and, of course, an academician. He passed through the aftereffects of the Encyclopedists and the Enlightenment, and returned to the faith of his youth. His novel *The Scandal* concerns his turbulent years. In *The Infant with the Globe* he reached a complete spiritual assurance and an artistic mastery, in which the romantic dreams of his youth could be expressed once again with undiminished, if now only nostalgic, conviction.

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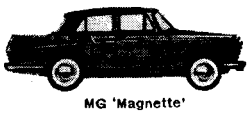
IN EUROPE GIVES YOU A BIGGER 

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